Author:
Rahbari, Mojgan

Title:
The marginalized integration accounts of foreign-trained professional migrants in Canada : an analysis of structural and institutional barriers to integration

THE MARGINALIZED INTEGRATION ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN-TRAINED PROFESSIONAL MIGRANTS IN CANADA:

AN ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS TO INTEGRATION

Ms. Mojgan Rahbari

A thesis submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences

School for Policy Studies

Date: 02/07/2007

Word Count: 81, 543

ABSTRACT

This thesis interprets subjective migration and integration experiences of foreign-trained professional (FTP) migrants in Canada and explores the relevance of their accounts concerning immigration policy developments. Empirical evidence suggests that despite the existing opportunities for FTP migrants' international movement, they experience gross disadvantages in the form of '*entry effect*' and are deskilled by what is known as '*taxi driver phenomenon*' in Canada. This phenomenon has resulted in their limited participation within the Canadian labour market and the broader society. The barriers these migrants experience question Canada's credibility as a nation that embraces and reinforces equality and challenges existing multicultural principles. This thesis uses Fleras and Elliott's (1996) theoretical conceptualisation of multiculturalism to address its usefulness.

Existing studies have overlooked migrants' subjective assessment of their level of integration. Therefore, this study draws attention to the social and structural barriers FTP migrants have and are still encountering within the milieu of immigration policy and practices from 1969 to 2003. It particularly draws attention to FTP migrants' general settlement needs; raises doubts about current immigration selection policy based on the *points system* and recent immigrant dispersal framework, and contributes in building knowledge regarding the effectiveness of both strategies.

Although the focus of the study is on '*micro*' level of analysis, a post-structuralist approach is applied to explore the wider '*macro*', and '*meso*' (socio-cultural, economic, and structural) factors that form the context of these experiences. Layder's (1993) conceptualalisation of research analysis is used to understand the underlying relationship between structure (*i.e.*, '*social context*' and '*institutional setting*') and agency (*i.e.*, '*situated activity*' and '*individual agency*') influencing migrants' individual experiences. Since evidence thus far has failed to engage with deeper analysis of the way in which Canada's institutions actively exclude immigrant labour, in accordance with Bauder (2003) I use Pierre Bourdieu's notion of distinction (1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) to explain social construction of inequalities in Canada and highlight the importance of social capital in integration process.

The data for the study was collected through three consecutive fieldwork periods in the summers of 2001 to 2003. The sample comprises of 42 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with FTP migrants with professional qualifications, five with local service providers, and further three with local stakeholders in London, Ontario.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is common to research that which is dear to our heart and troubles our soul! This thesis has been my intellectual quest to justify personal experiences. I am very grateful to have had the opportunity to pursue my academic endeavours. However, this would not have been possible without the general support of my family and friends. I owe a very especial thanks to Danny van de Klee for his invaluable friendship and sincere emotional support, which provided me with the strength to complete and achieve my aspiration.

Interviewing people from a wide variety of backgrounds is a challenging task and one that could not have been completed without the cooperation and help of all the foreign-trained migrant respondents who participated in this study. My first heartfelt thanks go to all the participants who gave their time and shared their personal thoughts and experiences with me.

I received a great deal of assistance in conducting this study from individuals working in a few settlement agencies in London, Ontario whom I owe particular debt to, they are WIL Counselling and Training, LUSO *Community Services, and London's United Way. Sincere thanks also to colleagues at University of Western Ontario for accommodating me during my fieldwork (the summers of 2001 to 2003) and for helping me feel at home.*

Last but not least, many thanks to my supervisors Dr. Brian Caddick, Dr. Marsha Henry, Dr. Liz Lloyd and Ann Singleton for their academic guidance throughout the Ph.D. process.

DECLARATION AND DISCLAIMER

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author.

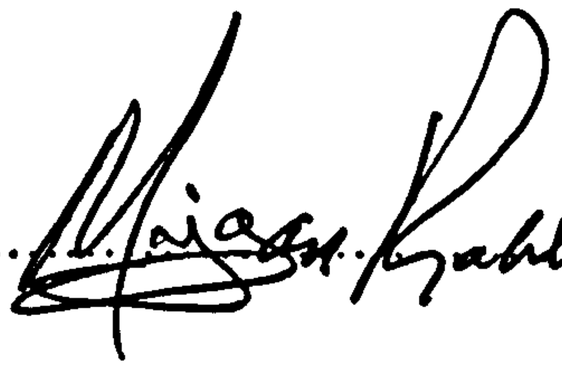
SIGNATURE:.....  **DATE:**...13/12/07.....

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

TERMINOLOGY GLOSSARY

* Note: The following glossary represents definitions of contested terms as they are used within this thesis. Therefore, the glossary does not represent all the available definitions within the field.

***Adaptation*:** According to the *Canadian Council for Refugees* (CCR, 1998: 9) at an analytical level, adaptation refers to the initial process of migrant *settlement*. Within this thesis, the term refers to early stages of migrants' post-migration adjustment when they are exposed to cultural values and patterns of the host group. For instance, at the adaptation stage migrants generally focus on finding somewhere to live, begin learning the local language, explore their job opportunities, and learn their way in an unfamiliar society.

***Acculturation*:** Contemporary conceptualisation of the term is from John Berry's 1980 model identifying acculturation as a process of social, cultural, and personal change following contact between cultural groups and the individuals. It refers to the process of adaptation and change whereby a person or an ethnic, social, religious, or language group obtains a full membership of a community. Therefore, in accordance with Henry *et al.* (1995) acculturation is essentially used to refer to the process by which a state or society enables, induces or insists that a person who did not previously belong to a culture acquires the characteristics of that culture. Therefore, acculturation inevitably may be seen as means of reducing national cultural diversity. However, the concrete measures that produce integration of immigrants may vary according to the concept of culture in use. In Canada, acculturation implicitly refers to '*assimilation*' whereby individuals are acknowledged to have a choice in the extent to which they wish to assimilate. For the purpose of this thesis, acculturation refers to the process of adaptation and change whereby a person or an ethnic, social, religious, or language group attempt to obtain full membership of the host society. *Per se,* acculturation as a process may take place both at group level and in all individuals. According to Berry, the extent to which groups or individuals acculturate depends on three conditions: 1) Length of residence in new society, 2) Neighbourhood ethnic composition within that society, and 3) The extent of discrimination against self and group adaptations (www.fedcan.ca/english/pdf/advocacy/Fitting%20in.pdf, accessed date 08/02/07).

Assimilation: *Webster's New World College Dictionary* (2004, Fourth ed.) defines assimilation as "*The cultural absorption of a minority group into the main cultural body*". Webster dictionary defines the verb '*to assimilate*' as "*To become like or alike, to be absorbed and incorporated*". According to the classical accounts of Robert Park (1928) and Milton Gordon (1964), assimilation is the end of an inevitable process of incorporation. It proceeds from an initial period of separation and competition through a stage of accommodation to eventual condition in which the values and life styles of migrants become indistinguishable from the host society. Assimilation does not necessarily involve loss of cultural identity, in fact it may entail individuals' adherence

to the schema of their original culture or another culture. This thesis uses Webster dictionary's definition of the term.

***Credentials*:** According to the *Canadian Information Centre for International Credential* (CICIC) '*Guide to Terminology Usage in the Field of Credentials Recognition and Mobility*', a credential is "*Documented evidence of learning* [*i.e.* degrees, diplomas, certificates, professional and technical qualifications, and licences] *based on completion of a recognised program of study, training, work experience, or prior learning assessment*" (http://www.cicic.ca/en/Guide.aspx?sortcode=2.17.17, accessed date 08/02/07).

Citizenship: Within this thesis, the term refers to a collection of rights and obligations that give individuals a formal juridical identity. In accordance to T.H. Marshall (1963), the term comprises of a status bestowed on those who are considered as full members of a state. Every state has an established conceptual, legal, and ideological boundary between its citizens and "*other*"—the foreigners or migrants. For instance, the *Canadian Citizenship Act* (1947) is based on the principle of "*jus soli*", whereby any child born in Canada is automatically Canadian citizen, independent of the status of the parents. Landed immigrants may become Canadian citizen through naturalisation, after three of four years of permanent residency (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizen/howto-e.html, accessed date 08/02/07). By becoming citizens, newcomers become the legal equals of the Canadian-born, enjoying the same rights, including the right to vote, to serve in the government, and to seek elected office.

Competency Assessment: According to CICIC, it refers to the "*Measurement of skills, level of knowledge, and behaviours obtained through formal or non-formal education, work experience or other means with the purpose of establishing applicant's possession of requirements for a trade or profession for a program of study or to identify training needs. Competency assessment may be in the form of examinations or task-based performance testing*" (http://www.cicic.ca/en/Guide.aspx?sortcode=2.17.17, accessed date 08/02/07).

***Cultural Adaptation/Integration*:** According to Searle and Ward (1990), the term refers to migrants learning culturally appropriate social skills in order to interact with the new culture they encounter and manage everyday social situations in the host society. Therefore, it comprises of both cultural and structural integration (Ward *et al.*, 2001; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

***Economic Adaptation/Integration*:** Within this thesis, the terms '*economic adaptation*' and '*economic integration*' are used interchangeably because the literature in the field has used both terms to refer to migrants' ability to take part within the host society's labour market. The term generally embodies individual's ability to realise their intended and achieved financial goals. Migrants are postulated to have achieved economic

adaptation/integration when they understand and feel competent regarding their ability to meet host society's market demands and have a sense of fiscal accomplishment (Searle & Ward, 1990). Most of the relevant literature on migrant integration refers to the evidence that insertion within the labour market and successful economic integration is the primary factor influencing other dimensions of integration within the receiving society (Arulampalam, Gregg & Greggory, 2001; ECC, 1991; Naidoo, 1992; Neuwirth, 1999; Thomas, 1990; Turner, 1995; Waters & Moore, 2001).

***Entry effect*:** In the Canadian context, the term refers to the phenomenon whereby migrants experience general decline in status and earnings post-migration. Evidence indicates that migration outcomes tend to differ amongst migrants in Canada. They generally tend to earn less than a native-born Canadians with equal skill and education because of factors including: lack of equal language facility; knowledge of the Canadian labour market; transferability of human capital gained in the source country; credential recognition; discrimination; and the employers assumptions regarding the costs involved in human capital investment (Adelman, 2001; Green & Worswick, 2002).

***Foreign- trained Professional Migrants* (FTP Migrants):** Within the Canadian context the term refers to non-Canadian born nationals, who are of visible minority background and have obtained professional certification outside Canada. This category of immigrants often enter Canada under what is classified as '*Independent Class*' of immigration and are selected through a '*points system*' based on their profession, education, age, experience, pre-arranged employment, knowledge of French or English, personal suitability, and the destination of settlement. Within this thesis, the term does not refer to Canadian-born nationals who have been educated outside Canada who currently live and work in Canada.

***Human Capital*:** Within this thesis, the term refers to migrants' personal resources such as credentials, education, and work and life experience. According to *The Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades* (PROMPT: 23), it is the "*formal educational qualifications, on-the-job training, and knowledge acquired through learning networks that one uses to effectively participate in the economic life of a community.*" The host society usually interprets these forms of capital and assesses the extent of mobilisation. As such, human capital is part of the system of evaluation that determines entry barriers within the labour market and as a result influences its composition (Erickson, 1996; Haggerty & Johnson, 1995; Salaff, Greve & Ping, 2001).

***Integration*:** According to the UNESCO glossary of migration related terms, '*integration*' is a term that has two meanings. Firstly, integration includes organisational principles like the division of labour, the public celebration of solidarity, norms and rules, *etc.* Secondly, it involves the process of making someone equal or fitting to the rest of society referred as '*acculturation*' (www.unesco.org/shs/migration/glossary, accessed date 17/02/06). In accordance with Potter (1999), the term integration is utilised on two levels within this thesis; one on a collective level the term refers to the

realisation of a sense of belonging and citizenship and second as the migrants' opportunity to fulfil their human potential. As such, integration takes place within the layers of social structure—the socio-political and economic framework of the host country, which plays a major part in shaping and mediating the extent to which an individual can mobilise their resources. In the second level, according to Parkeh (1997) integration embodies a two-way process involving the governing and marginal sectors brought together without either losing their distinctiveness. It is the symmetric rather than asymmetric social process whereby members of both the migrant and receiving communities change as migrants settle into a host society.

***Migrant*:** According to United Nation (UN), "*The term 'migrant' in article 1.1 (a) should be understood as covering all cases where the decision to migrate is taken freely by the individual concerned, for reasons of 'personal convenience' and without intervention of an external compelling factor*" (UN, 1998). Therefore, according to the UN definition, migrants include job seekers, students, and family members of migrants. However, "*Specifically excluded from the Commission on Human Rights' general definition of migrants are political refugees and asylum seekers, internally displaced people, victims of trafficking and others forced to leave their homes because of external compelling factors (such as natural disasters, nuclear or chemical disasters, development, etc.)*" (http://www.un.org/Pubs/CyberSchoolBus/student/2006/theme.asp, accessed date 27/06/07). The reason why the UN has made a distinction between ordinary migrants and refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced people is that the latter are viewed as migrants who have specific civil, political, social, economic, and cultural needs that require distinct protection under the law. Separate UN Conventions address the rights of these types of migrants. Whilst UNESCO glossary of migration related terms, defines 'migrants' as any individuals who live temporarily or permanently in a country where they have not been born and have acquired some significant social ties to that country (www.unesco.org/shs/migration/glossary, accessed date 07/02/07). However, according to Castles and Miller (2003) this is a too narrow definition considering that in most host countries a distinction is rarely made between 'recent' and 'old' migrants, which result in a confusion between the existing 'visible ethnic minority' and recent migrants entering. In Canada, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights (9/08/02)[1] has proposed that a migrant is a:

"***a) Persons who are outside the territory of the State of which they are nationals or citizens are not subject to its legal protection and are in the territory of another State;***

b) Persons who do not enjoy the general legal recognition of rights which is inherent in the granting by the host State of the status of refugee, naturalised person or of similar status;

c) Persons who do not enjoy either general legal protection of their fundamental rights by virtue of diplomatic agreements, visas or other agreements" (www.unesco.org/shs/migration/glossary, accessed date 01/02/07).

[1] Gabriela Rodríguez Pizarro, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human rights in A/57/292, Human rights of migrants, a note made by the Secretary-General on 9, August 2002.

Migrant Permanent Residents: According to *Citizenship and Immigration Canada* (CIC), they comprise of migrants that live in Canada for at least 730 days (two years) within a five-year period or risk losing their status. Permanent residents have all the rights guaranteed under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* such as equality rights, legal rights, mobility rights, freedom of religion, and freedom of expression and association (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2004/glossary/index.html, accessed date 13/03/07).

***Migration*:** According to UN, the term 'migration' is the movement of persons including refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people, and economic migrants (http://www.un.org/Pubs/CyberSchoolBus/student/2006/theme.asp, accessed date 27/06/07). UNESCO's glossary of migration related terms provide a more specific definition of the term. According to UNESCO, migration refers to "*Crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time. It includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants*" (www.unesco.org/shs/migration/glossary, accessed date 01/02/07). Therefore it comprises all types of movements involving a change of residence that leads to change in ties of social membership both for the individual and for the society at the point of origin and destination and is either across internal boundaries within a particular state (city, province/state/county/district/municipality, or region) or across international borders. According to UNESCO, "*The dominant forms of migration can be distinguished according to the motives (economic, family reunion, refugees) or legal status (irregular migration, controlled emigration/immigration, free emigration/immigration) of those concerned*" (http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-URL_ID=3020&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed date 07/02/07). This thesis is concerned with international migration. Most countries have various categories, which reflect the intake of migrants within their policies and statistics. Within the Canadian context, such migration includes convention refugees, refugee claimants, and economic migrants (family, business, and independent or skilled migrants).

***Occupational Standards*:** According to CICIC, the term refers to a set of instruments *i.e.* benchmarks for skills, knowledge, and performance levels associated with measurement of practice with in a particular occupation. The regulatory body governing the particular occupation generally establishes these instruments (http://www.cicic.ca/en/Guide.aspx?sortcode=2.17.17, accessed date 08/02/07).

***Psychological Adaptation*:** According to Searle and Ward (1990), the term refers to migrants' achievement of a sense of well-being, good mental health, and general satisfaction with life in the host society.

***Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition* (PLAR):** Refers to identification and measurement of skills and knowledge acquired outside formal educational institutions. Assessments generally grant academic credit or determine eligibility to practise a trade

or profession. Assessment recognition involves evaluation of skills and knowledge obtained through work and other life experiences. PLAR may also include determining individual's future goals and training needs (http://www.cicic.ca/en/Guide.aspx?sortcode=2.17.17, accessed date 08/02/07).

***Profession*:** According to CICIC, although the terms '*profession*' and '*professional*' are more commonly used when referring to semi-professional and technical occupations as well as creative and performing arts occupations within this thesis it used when referring to an occupation that is self-regulating and has a clear code of ethics and standards. Such occupations typically require a bachelor's degree and in some cases even a period of postgraduate study (http://www.cicic.ca/en/Guide.aspx?sortcode=2.17.17, accessed date 08/02/07).

***Professional Association/Organisation*:** According to CICIC, this refers to a body in which membership (which tends to be either voluntary or mandatory) is based on common occupational interests and implies adherence to a code of professional conduct and discipline. The activities such bodies engage in range from advocacy on behalf of members, to formal regulatory responsibilities. Their activities comprise of protection of their members' interests, hosting conferences and meetings, information dissemination, professional development and training, and publishing (http://www.cicic.ca/en/Guide.aspx?sortcode=2.17.17, accessed date 08/02/07).

***Racialised Migrants*:** The term refers to non-white, non-Caucasian, and European recent immigrants who have historically experienced systemic and institutional discrimination in Canada.

***Racialised Nationals*:** Within this thesis, the term is used instead of '*ethnic/visible minority*'[2]. It includes both foreign-born and Canadian-born individuals who have Canadian citizenship. Since ethnic and or visible minority denotes that certain individuals are distinctive by virtue of their race, colour or 'visibility' (Boyd, 2002: 7) opponents of the term believe it implicitly assumes that 'Anglo-European whites' are the frame of reference. Therefore, challenge the assignment of such inferior or subordinate social positioning (Castles & Miller, 2003; Darroch, 1979; Grant, 1999; Porter 1965, 1979; Reitz, 1980, 1990). As a result, it implies a degree of marginalisation or exclusion within the Canadian public discourse. Castles and Miller (2003: 35) assert that in Canada the term '*immigrant*' as well as '*ethnic and or visible minority*' is inaccurately used to synonymously refer to old as well as new migrants. In an effort to draw attention to the Canadian social construction of race and difference, I will use the term '*racialised groups and or nationals*' to distinguish non-aboriginal, non-white, and

[2] According to the *Canadian Employment Equity Act* ten groups are officially designated as visible minorities in Canada—Blacks, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Latin Americans, Other Pacific Islanders, Indo-Pakistanis (or South Asians), South East Asians, and West Asians and Arabs (http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050322/d050322b.htm, accessed date 15/02/07).

Caucasian citizens (including both foreign-born and Canadian-born individuals) from recent immigrants.

***Refugee*:** Canada uses the 1951 *Geneva Refugee Convention* definition of a refugee. "*A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or owing to such fear is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country*" (http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/refugees.htm#wp1037012, accessed date 08/02/07). According to Amnesty Canada, as a signatory to the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees (Article 33- known as the principle of non-refoulement) Canada has an obligation not to return a refugee directly or indirectly to persecution. As Canada is as well party to the 1984 *Convention Against Torture* and to the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, its *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* also offers protection to people who face a substantial danger of torture, a risk to their life or of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment.[3] According to *Canadian Council for Refugees* (CCR) for people who are outside Canada, the current Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002) provides two additional categories of refugees:

- ***"Source country, for people who face persecution but are still in their country of origin[4]***
- ***Country of asylum, for people who are seriously and personally affected by civil war, armed conflict, or massive violation of human rights."***

(http://www.web.net/~ccr/state.html, accessed date 08/02/07)

It also provides two ways for refugees to receive protection in Canada: 1) through the resettlement program, wherein refugees outside Canada are brought to Canada by the government or are sponsored through the private sponsorship program, and 2) through determination of their refugee protection claim whilst inside Canada or at the borders.

***Refugee claimants*:** According to CIC, refugee claimants are temporary residents in the humanitarian population category who request refugee protection upon or after arrival in Canada. Refugees are not subject to the formal "points system" employed to evaluate the skills and adaptability of independent immigrants. A refugee claimant receives Canada's protection when he or she is recognised as i) Convention refugee as defined by the UN 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol, or ii) Recognised as a person needing protection based on risk to life, risk of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment, or in danger of torture as defined in the Convention Against Torture. Within 180 days, a refugee claimant whose claim is accepted may make an application in Canada for permanent residence. The applicant

---

[3] These risks must not be faced generally by everyone in the country, must not be part of lawful sanctions or caused by lack of adequate health or medical care (http://www.web.net/~ccr/state.html#whoisarefugee, accessed date 08/02/07).

[4] It only applies to countries designated in the regulation.

may include family members in Canada and abroad" (*Facts & Figures* 2004, Glossary of Terms and Concepts (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2004/glossary/index.html, accessed date 13/03/08). In Canada, a separate administrative body, the Refugee Division of the *Immigration and Refugee Board* (IRB), deals with the determination of refugee claimants seeking status as Convention refugees.

- ***Convention Refugees***: Refugees that are selected abroad include both government-sponsored and privately-assisted refugees. This category of migrants arrive in Canada with an established legal status as permanent residents and are entitled to certain level of social support. generally, support is provided with housing, food, clothing, incidental expenses, community orientation, and help in finding a job and support in dealing with the challenges of settling in a new country. Refugees are also eligible for all benefits and social assistance programs available to permanent residence of Canada.

Social capital: According to PROMPT (2005: 14), it generally refers to "*A range of individual attributes, such as trust, reciprocity, association and social skills. These attributes generate connectivity, support interaction with established networks and synergy to enhance social and economic well-being in a community.*" In Canada, it refers to "*Cultural and social attributes that people possess and utilize to build or connect with networks that act together to advance the social, political, and economic fabric of a community*" (*Ibid*: 23).

Social Incorporation/Integration: This thesis uses the term as conceptualised by Isajiw (1997: 82-84). Isajiw uses '*social incorporation*' and '*social integration*' interchangeably whilst referring to a process through which a group or an individual is included in a larger social unit as an integral part of it. He considers social incorporation as a theoretical roof-concept since it can incorporate a number of other concepts, such as assimilation, integration, identity retention, ethnic rediscovery and so on. He postulates that host society's economy, labour market, and social class system is an essential force in social incorporation of diverse ethnicities (*Ibid*: 6). According to him, social integration is a process that assumes reciprocity and includes three basic dimensions: structure, culture, and identity, which may be studied on two levels, individual and collective.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIPSO	Association of International Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario
APT	Access to Professions and Trades
CBO	Community-based Organisations
CCLC	London Cross Cultural Learner Centre
CCPE	Canadian Council of Professional Engineers
CCR	Canadian Council for Refugees
CCSD	Canadian Council on Social Development
CERIS	Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement
CHERI	Centre for Higher Education Research and Information
CHRA	Canadian Human Rights Act
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CICIC	Canadian Information Centre for International Credential
CLBC	Canadian Labour and Business Centre
CLFDB	Canadian Labour Force Development Board
CMA	Census Metropolitan Area
CPSO	College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario
CRRF	Canadian Race Relations Foundation
EAP	Employment Action Plan
ECC	Economic Council of Canada
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EE	Employment Equity

EEA	Employment Equity Act
EI	Employment Insurance
FTP	Foreign-trained Professional
HE	Higher Education
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Agency
HR	Human Resource
HRC	Human Resources Canada
HRSDC	Human Resources and Social Development Canada
ICAO	The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario
IMDB	International Migration Data Base
IRB	Immigration and Refugee Board
IRPA	Immigration and Refugee Protection Acts
IRPP	Institute for Research on Public Policy
ISAP	Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program
LICO	Low Income Cut-off
LINC	Language Instruction for Newcomers
LUSO	London Urban Services Organisation (LUSO Community Services)
LSIC	Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada
NOC	National Occupational Classification
OCASI	Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants
OCT	Ontario College of Teachers
OSIP	Ontario Settlement and Integration Program
PEO	Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario
PLAR	Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition

PNP	Provincial Nominee Program
PSE	Post-secondary Education Sector
PSI	Post-secondary Institution
PUMF	Public Use Microdata File
PROMPT	The Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades
SCCI	Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration
UN	United Nation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WIL	Women Immigrants of London (WIL Counselling and Training)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary immigration debates in Canada have centred on the relative suitability of '*Independent Class*'[5] immigrants versus '*Family Class*'[6] (Akabari, 1999; Boyd & Vickers, 2000; CIC, 1997; De Silva, 1997a, 1997b; Green & Green, 2000; Potter, 1999; Reitz, 1998b; Reitz, 2002; Sanders & Nee, 1996; Zhao, Drew & Murray, 2000). Currently, Canada is opening its arms to talented workers from 183 countries (DeVoretz, 1995). The absolute numbers of immigrants may fluctuate annually however at the peak the annual immigration flow has been about 1% of Canada's total population (*Ibid.*).[7] More than half of the approximately 250,000 recent migrants arriving in Canada annually have been foreign-trained professional migrants (hereafter abbreviated as FTP migrants[8]) (CIC, *Facts & Figures*, 2004) [Refer to Appendix 7 for details]. Since the introduction of immigration selection based on skills and qualifications in 1976/77, the government has asserted that it wants immigrants with rich human capital—in other words personal resources such as educational attainment, professional

---

[5] Up to June 2002, the Independent Class immigrants were selected under the point system based on their high levels of human capital, and represented economic advantage.

[6] Relatives in Canada have historically sponsored Family Class immigrants. By implication, they are characterised as being human capital-poor and are perceived as representing an economic drain for Canada.

[7] Points system's legislative, Section 7(1) of Canada's *Immigration Act* states that the Federal government of Canada has the responsibility to annually consult with provinces and other interested parties to set immigration targets in terms of numbers and categories of migrants permitted access. These targets are announced in Parliament by November 1 of each year (CIC, 2002 http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/pub/anrep02.html#legislative, accessed date 08/03/04).

[8] FTP migrants are non-Canadian born nationals, who are of visible minority background and have obtained their professional certification outside Canada. Within this thesis, they are also referred to as '*racialised migrants*'. It ought to be noted that the label (FTP migrant) does not refer to Canadian-born nationals who have educated outside Canada who currently live and work in Canada. FTP migrants refer to immigrants who enter Canada under the '*Independent Class*' of immigration. They are selected through a '*points system*' based on their profession, education, age, experience, prearranged employment, knowledge of French or English, personal suitability, and the destination of settlement. Within the current immigration policy these immigrants are referred to as '*skilled workers*' and are systemically differentiated from other migrants. Such differentiation has led to various cultural, social, and institutional barriers post-migration to Canada, which this thesis seeks to explore.

credentials and occupational qualifications, and work and life experience.[9] Yet studies over the past 20 years have concluded that these imported resources were not, are still not properly used; thus are wasted.

The thesis is based on a qualitative research, which interprets subjective migration and integration experiences of FTP migrants. The data for the study was collected through three consecutive fieldwork periods in the summers of 2001 to 2003. The sample comprised of 42 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with FTP migrants possessing professional qualifications including University Lecturers, Engineers (Civil, Mechanical, Electrical, and Mining), Researcher/Research Scientist, Teachers (Elementary and Secondary school), Medical Practitioners (Medical doctors, Physicians, and Dentists), Psychologists/Counsellors/Therapists, Accountants, and Business related fields (*i.e.* Human Resources (HR), Advertising, and Sales). These were categorised in three groups: i) academic migrants that were headhunted internationally[10], ii) not headhunted FTP migrants[11], and iii) Students[12], and iv) FTP refugees[13] [both convention[14] and refugee claimants[15]] (known as asylum seekers). A further seven interviews were conducted with local service providers which included five participants from settlement organisations, one from a federal government agency, and one expert researcher) in London, Ontario. In addition, one emailed questionnaire was returned from professional regulated body, *The Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario* (PEO) (For details refer to Chapter 6.5).

---

[9] According to Joppke (1986: 53), Bourdieu was first to appropriate an economic metaphor '*capital*' in *Les Étudiants et leurs etudes* (1964) to understand social life.

[10] These migrants had a secure employment prior migration to Canada and often had a renewable employment authorisation.

[11] It comprises FTP migrants who entered as Independent Class seeking employment upon arrival in Canada.

[12] It comprises migrants who initially entered Canada as students occupying Student Visa.

[13] It comprises of FTP migrants who entered Canada as Convention or refugee claimants. These FTP migrants often chose to enter Canada as a refugee because the refugee application processing is faster than entering Canada under the Independent class of immigration.

[14] They comprise assisted refugees who are generally pre-selected from abroad either by the government officials or by private agencies, individuals, clubs, or church groups, with private sponsors who are obligated to provide support for up to ten years. Both government and privately sponsored refugees receive landed immigrant status before arriving in Canada and are entitled to federal government settlement assistance once they arrive.

[15] This category comprises individuals who claim refugee status upon arrival to Canada. In contrast with convention refugees, refugee claimants are not entitled to some of the benefits and social services that Canadians are entitled until they receive their permanent residence status.

Evidence indicates that integration processes tend to be multifaceted in nature, comprising of emotional and psychological, cultural, and economic incorporation (Berry, 1992; Isajiw, 1997; Neuwirth, 1999; Maclean, 2003; Richmond, 1974; Thomas, 1990). Most of the literature refers to the evidence that one of the main elements for successful integration of migrants is participation within the labour market (Alboim, 2002; Badets & Howatson-Leo, 1999; Baker & Dwayne, 1994; Bauder & Cameron, 2002; Belanger, 2003; Bloom, Grenier & Gunderson, 1995; Green & Green, 1999; Hou, 2004; Janzen, Gogic & Lymburner, 2003; Ley, 1999; Richmond, 1974). According to Isajiw (1997), successful integration and or participation of migrants in the host society is regarded as an outcome of: i) The interaction between the historical, cultural and ideological views regarding migration and migrants; ii) National immigration policy in place, iii) The social policy provisions made to encourage integration, iv) The social opportunity structures presented to migrants (*i.e.* full citizenship status; cultural acceptance; and employment opportunities available within the labour market, the professional organisations, public and private sector in the host country), v) Is a product of the personal characteristics of settling migrants (*i.e.* with regards to age, level of education, level of language competency, profession, work experience, personality and aptitude, *etc.*).

Although Canada is commonly viewed as a democratic society, which is ethnoculturally diverse and comparatively tolerant of racial minorities, this view is disputed by the existing literature. Empirical evidence suggests that FTP migrants experience major disadvantages in obtaining recognition for their credentials and work experience. This leads to their limited participation in the labour market and the broader society (Basaran & Zong, 1998; Cornish, McIntyre & Pask, 2001; Department of Canadian Heritage, 2002; Ferrer & Riddell, 2002; Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Mraj & Dabrowski, 2000; Mata, 1999; McDade, 1988; Smith, 2001; Training and Development Associates, 1999; Watt & Bloom, 2001). These studies indicate that there are also variations in the level of integration migrants from different ethnic groups experience in Canada (Darroch, 1979; Dion, 2002a; Galabuzi, 2001; Grant, 1999; Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2001; Lautard & Guppy, 1990; Lian & Mathews, 1998; Porter, 1965, 1979; Reitz, 1980, 1990). The differentiated structural incorporation affects the status of ethnic groups and ranks them

in relation to each other into an order of ethnic stratification. The most common form of differential integration has been ethnic concentrations or segregation in occupations and neighbourhoods (Hiebert, 2003, 1999, 1997; Hiebert & Ley, 2001; Hou, 2004; Galabuzi, 2001; Reitz, 1980, 1990; Reitz, Calzavara & Desko, 1981). This phenomenon is understood to be a product of the broader societal ethnic stratification.

In view of the above, this thesis takes a post-structuralist approach to migration and explores the way in which migrants in Canada are socially constructed and stratified as '*racialised*' and '*integrated*' citizens (Castles & Miller, 2003: 35). It is postulated that such societal ethnic/racial stratification effectively determines the extent to which recent migrants (those arrived since 1970s) are integrated in the various spheres of Canadian society. This thesis explores the effects of unemployment/underemployment and occupational segregation on the integration experiences of FTP migrants.

The research focuses on FTP migrants for several reasons. Firstly, the research idea stemmed from personal reflection upon my own family's immigration experience to Canada in 1989 and my quest for justification of the hardships encountered by my parents and other migrants known to me. Secondly, I found it intriguing how FTP migrants were and still are experiencing occupational integration difficulties in their respective professions in view of Canada having a very selective immigration intake. Since 1976, Canada has selected migrants based on a '*points system*' and '*cream of the crop*' immigrant selection policy supposedly reflecting the country's demographic needs, national demand for knowledge economy, and economic development (Green & Green, 1999, 2000; *Economic Council of Canada*—ECC, 1991; Reitz, 2002) [For details of current selection criteria refer to Appendix 1]. The points system selects immigrants based on their education, age, specific vocational qualifications, experience, occupation, pre-arranged employment, and knowledge of French or English. Over the past three decades Canada has further modified its immigration policy and has added personal suitability and the destination of settlement to its points system in an attempt to further encourage a '*productive*' rather than a '*dependent*' inflow of migrants (*The Maytree Foundation*, 2001: 5). This has resulted in Canada particularly targeting its immigration intake on professionally qualified migrants (the '*Independent Class*'). The

prevailing marginalisation of FTP migrants in low-skill occupations made me interested in exploring the socio-cultural, structural, and systemic factors contributing to the integration barriers experienced by FTP migrants in Canada.

Presently FTP migrants assume they will be able to find work quickly in their chosen field in Canada. Their expectation is supported by the Canadian immigration system, which assigns points for higher educational level, skills, and professions. In accordance with Krau (1991: 67), once in Canada FTP migrants are less connected to one another and are less likely to form or join networks or communities of fellow migrants. Hence, they are vulnerable to experience breakdown in almost all levels of alliance (*i.e.* absence of family ties, personal networks, and community support) within the process of migration, which may engender feelings of being trapped. This is further aggravated by not being able to return to their country of origin because of the economic and emotional investments made through migration and the deep routed human desire to not admit failure and defeat when things do not work out as premeditated.

The barriers migrants are encountering raise doubts about the Canadian immigration policy framework and societal acceptance of migrants, which challenge the usefulness of the existing multicultural principles. The critics of Canadian immigration and multiculturalism assert that Canada's credibility as a nation that fully embraces, supports, and reinforces the value of equality and diversity is hindered because of these barriers (Bissoondath, 1994; Stoffman, 2002). In view of this, they draw attention to the need for development of universal non-discriminatory practice in Canada.

1.1 THE RESEARCH CONTEXT: MIGRANTS' INTEGRATION WITHIN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

In accordance with Castles (1997), international migration is closely linked to the process of inclusion and exclusion. Within the current global knowledge economy, FTP

migrants are perceived as internationally mobile because of their skills and attributes. However FTP migrants' experience '*immigrant stigma*' because of possessing immigrant status within the host society and they are excluded from full participation in broader society through denial of certain individual rights (*i.e.* right to equal treatment and right to employment at a level consistent with one's aptitude, *etc.*) or discrimination.[16] Thus far, models of adaptation and settlement in Canada have predominantly been based on the migration of Europeans to Canada (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). However, since the 1960s immigration policy reform there has been an expansion in migration source countries[17] (Schellenberg, 2004: 12)[18]. These reforms produced a major shift in the entry of persons from the traditional North, East and South European countries towards entry of persons from developing countries in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, who have different set of experiences— motives and barriers— with regards to migration to Canada. Immigration data from 2001 Census, released in January 2003 demonstrates that the majority of newcomers 68% were born in Asia, including the Middle East, 15% were from Europe, 9% from Africa and 6% from Central and South America and the Caribbean[19] [Refer to Table 6 and Appendices 9 and 10 for details of top migrant source countries].

In accordance with Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco (2001) and Thompson (2000: 1), the European model of settlement is no longer reflective of the present immigration flow and experiences of the migrant population. The European models, perceived migrant settlement as an upwardly mobile journey relative to time spent in the host country, and assumed the longer immigrants lived in their adopted country; the greater was their likelihood of success. Nevertheless, new patterns exemplify how some immigrants continue to succeed while others are locked out of the opportunity structure because of discrimination, racism, and prejudice.

---

[16] Similarly, the general costs associated with processing refugees in Canada have resulted in refugees being stigmatised as a social problem.

[17] In accordance with CIC, the term refers to the principal country of last permanent residence. For refugee claimants, source country refers to the principal country of alleged persecution [CIC *Facts & Figures*, (2005:112) http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07].

[18] Refer to Appendix 8 for *Government of Canada Immigrant Statistics* figures for 2002/03.

[19] *Statistics Canada* (2003), http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/character.htm, accessed date 12/02/07.

Currently, in Western migrant receiving countries, migrants are known to experience an adjustment period of several years or even generations until they are supposed integrated into the host country. Evidence indicates that non-European immigrants are particularly disadvantaged in Canada (Bloom, Grenier & Gunderson, 1995; Hiebert, 1999; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). According to Adelman (2001: 3-4), these migrants typically experience a decline in status and earning when they migrate; a phenomenon referred to as "*entry effect*". Lo *et al.* (2000) claim it takes between 10-20 years of residency in Canada to achieve socio-economic parity with the Canadian-born citizens. Evidence indicates that migrants in Canada experience entry effect because of lack of: i) equal language facility, ii) knowledge of the Canadian labour market, iii) transferability of human capital gained in the source country, iv) credential recognition, v) discrimination, and vi) the Canadian employer's reluctance to invest in upgrading the migrants' human capital (Adelman, 2001; Cornish, Mcintyre and Pask, 2001). Thus far, the Canadian federal government has overlooked these barriers within its immigration framework. I postulate that the above-mentioned barriers occur because a capitalist society's pursuit of profit may be seen as principally in conflict with the promotion of social values related to diversity, inclusion, and equality. However, as mentioned before, the extent to which migrants experience entry effect is not equal for all migrants. According to Bauder (2003: 699), such adjustment period is not a natural phenomenon. He believes that in Canada immigrant labour is actively excluded from the most highly desired occupations in order to reserve them for Canadian-born and Canadian-educated workers.

Within a capitalist society like Canada, racism is embedded in social, economic, and political institutions and practices. In Canada, racism has inadvertently flourished from privileging Eurocentric norms, values, practices, and institutions. This in turn has relegated racialised nationals[20] and migrants' experiences as worthless (Dion, 2002b; Henry *et al.*, 1995; Galabuzzi, 2001; Kunz *et al.*, 2001; Miles, 1989; Peak & Ray, 2001). Curtis, Grabb, and Guppy (1993) assert that one measure of discrimination found in Canada is the lack of representation of individuals from racialised ethnic groups in the country's top positions like managerial jobs and protected professions. A recent

[20] The term refers to the marginalized sector of mainstream population commonly labelled as 'ethnic minorities'.

report by *The Canadian Race Relations Foundation* (CRRF) confirms that good jobs and promotion still elude many racialised nationals and migrants (Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2001). According to them, many recent migrants consider racial discrimination as the key barrier in getting ahead in the Canadian labour market. Thompson (2000: 1) asserts that this is a result of substantial under utilisation of migrants' skills commonly referred to as a '*taxi driver phenomenon*'.

The unequal outcome between groups with similar levels of education implies prevalence of racial discrimination in hiring and promotions in Canada. Collins (1979) employed a social relations approach to account for the prevalence of such institutional racism. He claimed that those in positions of power often set institutional standards and define the acceptance criteria by which migrants and racialised nationals are judged. Collins asserts that the primary factor encouraging the division between Canadian-born and migrant labour is that employers tend to judge migrants' education and skills according to ill-fitting, inappropriate, and biased frameworks. This in turn has created systemic under-utilisation of migrants' skills in Canada (Collins, 1979: 11-12). According to Thompson (2000), Ley (1999), and Pratt (1999), the enforcement of division of labour based on national origin and place of education has served as an institutionalised device promoting and maintaining labour-market distinction wherein the Canadian and other Western European country's qualification and certification is recognised and given higher merit. The current prejudiced privilege is maintained by the fabricated myth that increasing foreign-qualified migrants' access to professions will lower Canadian professional standards. This in turn has enabled professional regulatory bodies to restrict FTP migrants' access to professions. Consequently, it may be hypothesised that contrary to the logic behind the Canadian immigration points system, the level of education and prior work experience systemically fails as an accurate predictor of labour-market success and better integration among migrants.

In accordance with Bauder (2003), integration barriers racialised migrants experience in Canada are theorised by using Pierre Bourdieu's notion of distinction (1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and his analysis of the educational system as a means of social reproduction. In order to highlight the way in which societal institutions are socially

constructed and maintained, Bourdieu's notions of permissible levels of human and social capital[21] was applied.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS ADDRESSED

The main aim of this study is to interpret FTP migrants' subjective accounts of their pre and post-migration integration experience in Canada. The study aims to understand this category of migrants' integration needs and attempts to identify the way in which they may be addressed in Canada. The principal questions in this study are:

1) ***What are the subjective immigration experiences of recent FTP migrants to Canada?*** Through this research question I highlight:

   - Why FTP migrants choose to migrate
   - Why they chose Canada and particularly London, Ontario
   - Their pre-migration views and expectations of Canada and particularly London, Ontario
   - Their migration alternatives
   - Post and pre-migration opportunity costs and benefits perceived or obtained through migration
   - Their post-migration expectations— hopes and dreams

2) ***What are the subjective integration experiences of recent FTP migrants to Canada?*** Through this question, I explore migrants' integration experiences post-migration, in particular:

---

[21] According to *PROMPT* (2005: 23), the term refers to "*Cultural and social attributes that people possess and use to build or connect with networks that act together to advance the social, political and economic fabric of a community*". "[It] *consists of a range of individual attributes, such as trust, reciprocity, association and social skills. These attributes generate connectivity, support interaction with established networks and synergy to enhance social and economic well-being in a community* (*Ibid*: 14).

i) Socio-cultural—cultural experiences, impact on family and social network

ii) Economic—employment experience

iii) Changes to living standards and or quality of life, and

iv) Health— emotional/physical impact of migration

- Identify differences in the accounts based on category of entry (Independent Class of immigration, Convention Refugee/Refugee Claimant or Student), headhunted, not headhunted immigrants *vs.* refugees or student, year of immigration, duration in Canada, age and ethnicity[22]

- Explore migrants' understanding of the consequences of their experiences

- Explore strategies they adopt to overcome integration barriers they encounter

- Explore their evaluation of available settlement resources and identify the types of resources that would be of assistance to them within the integration process

- Employment options available to them

- Their general comments on the Canadian immigration policy and how it may be improved in order to encourage better integration of FTP migrants particularly

3) ***What relevance do these accounts have for immigration policy developments?*** Through this question, I identify:

- What the government says it is trying to implement and achieve through its immigration policy and how it is working in reality

- What are the current integration needs of FTP migrants that are not being systematically met

- Where are systemic and institutional barriers found, and what is the impact of these barriers

Although this research's focus is on '*micro*' level of analysis, it was impossible to avoid the broader '*macro*' and '*meso*' factors that influence migration and integration. As a result, the thesis explores the gaps between:

---

[22] Although gender analysis was anticipated within the research design, I had not predicted the impact of the existing systemic immigration selection bias and migrants' broader socio-cultural beliefs and practices regarding research and public and private space when designing sample selection. This combined with fieldwork time and resources restrictions encountered made it very difficult to have a gender-balanced sample within this research (for details refer to chapter 5.3.1).

'*Macro*' (*i.e.* International migration and global movement of knowledge economy and Canadian immigration policy),

'*Meso*' (*i.e.* Canadian immigration history—Nation-building agenda vs. absorptive capacity, Canadian multiculturalism doctrine, Canadian race and ethnicity—inclusion and exclusion principles in Canada, ethnic enclaves[23], Canadian legislative and political institutions underpinning citizenship, Canadian demography, and labour market profile, Canadian regulated professional institutions), and

'*Micro*' focuses on the ways in which individual FTP migrants are constrained within migration and integration process by institutions (social and political) in Canada and the extent to which these institutions predetermine their experience

Through the analysis of the above-mentioned points, I highlight how Canada despite its highly reputable immigration and multicultural policy is failing to successfully integrate FTP migrants within its institutions.

1.3 AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

This study aims to understand the various factors that have contributed to the maintenance and the development of inequalities widely experienced by migrants from 1960s to the present day in Canada. Hudson and Lowe (2004: 11-12) stress that when dealing with social problems, a multi-level perspective of the problems is required in order to fully understand them. They draw attention to the commonly acknowledged layers of analysis namely: '*macro*'—the broad global and national issues that shape the wider context, '*meso*'—the cultural and historical institutions influencing context, and '*micro*'—how these institutions affect individuals. They highlight how these layers should not be studied independently and compare the layers to a 'Big Mac', stressing that the layers "*like a Big Mac are parts of a meal rather than the meal in themselves*".

[23] According to Wilson and Portes (1980), the term ethnic enclave refers to ethnic clusters, which generally tend to be self-enclosed migrant communities.

In view of their argument, I use Layder's (1993: 72) conceptual bridges to highlight the interplay between the various layers of analysis within this thesis (Refer to Table 5 for details). I chose Layder's analytical map because it is epistemologically compatible to the overarching constructivist theoretical approach used within this thesis because of its receptiveness to causality and the identification of causal relationships within social phenomena under investigation. A social constructivist approach emphasises the importance of culture and context in understanding how a society operates. As a result, social phenomena are believed to derive from interactions between people and their environments and are influenced by the inter-subjectivity formed by cultural and historical factors within particular society (Kukla, 2000). In this context, Layder's research map is very useful in identifying the multi-directional interrelationship between structure (*i.e.*, '*social context*' and '*institutional setting*') and agency (*i.e.*, '*situated activity*' and '*individual agency*') whilst investigating a social phenomenon (*Ibid.*) [For details, refer to section 5.2]. According to Layder (1994: 5), the focus on structure and agency debate originates from the "*Extent to which human beings both create social life at the same time as they are influenced and shaped by existing social arrangements*". In addition, the map enables the researcher to determine where the primary focus of their analysis is as well as assists in better analysis of the relationship between the primary focus and the other levels of analysis. In view of interpreting the subjective integration accounts of FTP migrants, this thesis draws attention to *individual agency* and *situated activity* whilst explores *social context* and *institutional setting* as the background to the main arguments.

Accordingly, at the macro level this thesis draws attention to how unequal treatment of migrants in Canada is the fundamental barrier that limits FTP migrants' integration. The Canadian preoccupation with nation-building, economic development and management of labour force demands through immigration has had a major bearing on the migration flow and trends, and the country's economic and social structure including ethnic composition and relations. Consequently, immigration levels and the types/categories accepted have been established based on what their potential benefits are to Canada. The thesis explores the nature and the influence of ideological, cultural, social, structural, and organisational factors, which play a part in partial integration of FTP migrant participants.

Evidence from the literature acknowledges the way in which barriers to economic incorporation limit migrants' social and cultural integration in Canada. The effort that Canada puts into socio-cultural integration plays a major role in migrants' potential of acquiring 'equal' rights and opportunities, in other words effectively equal citizenship status to the host population. In view of this, this thesis links the ways in which the inequalities within the broader Canadian society have an impact on the post-migration experiences of FTP migrants. The approach to the literature review and the analysis within this thesis stems from a hypothesis that assumes in order to facilitate better integration of FTP migrants there is a need to understand social, historical, cultural, structural, organisational, and economic and political developments in Canada. The thesis recognises that these factors collectively play a major role in influencing how migrants are currently perceived and the extent to which they are socially and institutionally permitted to integrate.

Although there is very comprehensive literature in the field of migration in Canada, a high proportion of these have been quantitative in nature. These quantitative studies have predominantly been: i) census-based, ii) often based on non-professional migrants, or have been on iii) FTP migrants in Canada's top five urban cities or *Census Metropolitan Areas* (hereafter referred to as CMAs—referring to Montréal, Toronto, Vancouver, Ottawa–Hull and Calgary)[24]. These CMAs generally have greater concentration of migrants[25] and have comparatively better support infrastructure [in terms of settlement service provisions, qualification assessment centres, Higher Education (HE) institutions, most regulated professional organisations tend to be located in these cities, and these cities generally have greater acceptance of diversity], iv) the evidence available has been predominantly based on statistical analysis, measuring integration through economic performance (Green, 1999; Reitz 1998a, b, and 2001a; Loo, 2000; Harvey, 2001; Anderson, 2003; O'Conner, 2003), v) have been

---

[24] According to Statistics Canada, the term refers to a type of census subdivision comprising a large urban area (the "urban core") and those surrounding urban and rural fringes with which it is closely integrated. In Canada, to become a CMA, an area must register an urban core population of at least 100,000 at the previous census. Once an urban area is given CMA status, the status is retained even if the core population later drops below 100,000 (Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/geo009.htm, accessed date 05/02/07).

[25] In fact, according to *Statistics Canada* (LSIC, 2003b: 10) only 4% of the total new migrant population resides outside a CMA.

measuring ethnic poverty (Ley, 1997; Kazemipur, 1997, 2000), and vi) spatial or neighbourhood segregation (Hiebert, 2003; Hou, 2004). Hence, the available evidence provides a rough indication of the effects of immigration policies on the psychological, socio-cultural, and economic integration success of FTP migrants in Canada. Moreover, the studies have often not drawn on the personal accounts of migrants and the way in which they give meaning to their experience of migration and integration in Canada. The current disparity within migrants' experience has necessitated the need for understanding the exact nature and the extent of experience of different migrant-origins groups.

Due to the over population and concentration of racialised nationals and migrants in Canada's CMAs since 2000 the Canadian federal government introduced dispersal strategies labelled as the '*Provincial Nominee Program*' (PNP). The aim of this program has been to promote redistribution of migrants and refugees to smaller urban cities, towns, and communities. Under the PNP, the Canadian provinces enter into agreements with the federal government whereby they assess the province's skill shortages, set up categories for prospective migrants, and recruit and select migrants based on the specific labour needs identified for the province. Migrants benefit from the PNP through the faster application processing times and the potential of being matched with appropriate occupations (*Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration*— SCCI, 2003; Kahn *et. al.*, 2003). Currently, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Newfoundland/Labrador, New Brunswick, PEI, Nova Scotia and the Yukon have PNP agreements (*The Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades*— PROMPT, 2005: 10). However, according to PROMPT (2005: 9) there are concerns that migrant dispersal policy causes stress and service overloads in the key areas *(i.e.* health, housing and education) as well as in migrant settlement services. Mwarigha (2002) asserts that since migrant settlement services are no longer provided with adequate financial resources and support from the provincial and federal government they struggle to meet the higher demands from migrants at the local level.

However, it is noteworthy that such urban concentration of migrants is not particular to Canada and it is a global phenomenon and western immigrant countries such as USA, United Kingdom, France, and Germany to name a few are also facing similar changes.

Hence, there has been a global interest in the dispersal of migrants and improved understanding of the effects of inflow of migrants towards smaller urban cities and towns. In view of the above, this thesis focuses on the experiences of FTP migrants within a small urban city, specifically London, Ontario. Since the government of Canada thus far has not been able to tackle and find workable solutions for the broad-ranging integration barrier FTP migrants experience, I aim to examine migrants' subjective accounts in order to complement and enhance the existing empirical evidence and our understanding of '*where*' and '*how*' the FTP migrants fit within the broader Canadian society. In addition, London, Ontario is a regional centre for south-western Ontario and is one of Canada's largest municipalities. It is situated halfway between Toronto and Detroit and is in an ideal location to potentially ease the inflow of migrants to Toronto. Since research into inflow of migrants to London has been very sparse, this study contributes in building such needed knowledge base in Canada. The study also contributes to the global interest in research into: i) effectiveness of dispersal strategies; ii) draws attention to FTP migrants' general settlement provision needs; iii) highlights the complexity of meeting FTP migrants' integration needs within the secondary cities such as London, Ontario; iv) explores the nature as well as the extent of migrant pressure on local services, and v) provides a greater insight into personal experiences of recent migrants in these smaller urban cities.

The empirical data obtained and the social and cultural theorisation within this thesis draws attention to the way in which we can account for some individuals or groups experiencing more negative integration experiences than others. The findings of this study generally highlight the strengths and shortcomings of the existing immigration policy in Canada.

By presenting Canada as a case study, this thesis contextualises the broader factors that influence migration and integration processes and draws attention to the multiple levels of analysis required when setting national immigration policies. The thesis particularly draws attention to the importance of taking into account the broader historical, socio-political, ideological, and cultural structures whilst considering development of national immigration policies. The discussions within the thesis emphasise the centre *vs.* local

dynamics within immigration and integration processes and highlight the appropriateness of setting policies regarding intake numbers and migrant selection system centrally in other words at the national level. In Canada, these policies are generally set: i) without consideration of local absorptive capacity[26], ii) clear integration infrastructure, or iii) established integration policy to incorporate new migrants. Such systemic incoherence is often further exacerbated by migrants' *ad hoc* use of immigration categories to meet their individual needs (For details refer to 4.3.1). This phenomenon underlines the futility of nationally targeting certain category of migrants and highlights the need for local level analysis to get to the root of what is socially causing the integration barriers migrants are presently encountering in Canada. Within this thesis, I criticise the Canadian Federal government's effectively top-down approach and quick fix strategies concerning immigration and management of national diversity. However, the overarching contribution the thesis makes is through calling attention to systemic need for development of integration policy and clear infrastructure that would correspond with the national immigration policy so the policy is effectively operational.

1.4 RESEARCH THEMES

In order to comprehend the '*macro*', '*meso*' and '*micro*' dynamics within international migration the review of the literature within this thesis covers:

- Global knowledge economy and international movement of skilled migrants to Canada
- Historical changes to Canadian immigration flows and developments within immigration policy
- Interrelation between the Canadian multiculturalism doctrine, notions of inclusion '*incorporated*' and exclusion '*racialised*' [including both nationals and migrants]

[26] The term refers to the most appropriate number of immigration Canada can receive annually in view of its ability to accommodate the migrants it attracts.

in Canada (Castle & Miller, 2003: 35), ethnic stratification, and the legislative and political institutions underpinning citizenship and existing '*Immigrant Stigma*'

- Integration from social, cultural, emotional/psychological, and economic perspectives

- FTP migrants' integration barriers— '*entry effect*' (Adelman, 2001: 3-4), the prevalence of '*taxi driver phenomenon*' (Thompson, 2000: 1), and emergence of '*ethnic enclaves*' (Wilson & Portes, 1980) and how migrants are overcoming these barrier

- What is required to assist better integration of FTP migrants in Canada?

1.5 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

This thesis consists of ten chapters. Thus far, chapter one has provided the background to the thesis and has drawn attention to its aims, the research questions, and the broad themes covered. The chapter also identified the methodological and theoretical approach and the main migration and integration debates surrounding FTP migration in Canada.

Chapter two highlights the way in which assumptions about migration and integration are rooted in the history of immigration to Canada. The chapter examines the underlying ideological and cultural, structural and organisational, and individual factors influencing migration. It explores citizenship and cultural diversity and examines Canadian multiculturalism ideologies in order to frame the problems within the current migration and integration process. Through theorisation of citizenship in Canada, integration is conceptualised from emotional and psychological, socio-cultural, and economic perspective. The review identifies the different types of barriers FTP migrants' experience post-migration to Canada.

Chapter three focuses on the scope of recent migrants' integration in Canada. It examines the top three factors that influence FTP migrants' integration and draws attention to integration strategies generally adopted by migrants to overcome integration barriers highlighted. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the mismatch between the current immigration policy and contemporary integration experiences of FTP migrants.

Chapter four explores contemporary immigration policy context and debates in Canada. The chapter identifies immigration policy's main failures in meeting its aims and objectives namely its top down approach to immigration, absorptive capacity, geographic distribution, and '*seduction and abandonment*' (*The Maytree Foundation*, 2001: 5) tendencies. The chapter concludes by highlighting the way in which the current immigration policy fails to fit with other policies in Canada such as multiculturalism principles, *Canadian Human Rights Act* (CHRA, 1985), current settlement programmes, and equal opportunity policies operating in Canada. Therefore, the chapter questions how we may account for the discrepancies within the Canadian immigration system that asserts commitment to principles of inclusiveness.

Chapter five commences with discussions of the theoretical framework of the thesis. Layder's (1993) conceptual bridges for analysis is used to highlight the interplay between the various layers of theoretical analysis namely *structure*—social context and institutional setting and *agency*—situated activity and individual agency. The discussions identifies and links conceptual bridges between the primary focus and other levels and dimensions of analysis, establishes the macro/micro level link in migration and integration process, and draws attention to the principle themes within migration research. The chapter concludes with the exploration of the way in which labour integration barriers FTP migrants encounter in Canada is a consequence of several factors, namely: i) the Canadian societal dissonance with regards to race and ethnic relations, ii) result of nationally prejudiced institutional regulations of labour, and iii) what is sociologically known as '*professional project*'.

Chapter six addresses the methodological framework of the thesis. The chapter draws attention to the exploratory nature of the study and its aim to interpret FTP migrants' subjective immigration and integration experience giving particular attention to the life consequences that result. The chapter commences with discussions of the purpose and objective of the research, research strategy, and the rationale for qualitative approach. The discussion cover the research design; discourses influencing the methodology chosen; ethical, logical, and practical considerations applied; recruitment and selection; the interviewing process; data analyses, and analysis of the research process. The chapter concludes with the assessment of my original contributions to the field.

Chapter 7 summarises the qualitative findings. The chapter provides the reader with an overview of the demographic features, country of origin[27], race, age, and education composition of London, Ontario, and the sample participants in the study. Through comparative analysis of demographical statistics provided by the government of Canada, the chapter highlights: i) the extent to which London, Ontario and the sample studied is representative of other immigrant receiving cities, ii) provides an interpretation of the incompatibilities found within the immigrant and local population, and iii) draws attention to the impact such incompatibilities has had on the lived experience of recent FTP migrants in Canada.

Chapter eight provides an account of what the sample FTP migrants articulated from their immigration and settlement experience. It presents the key themes drawn from the discussions with the FTP migrants. The chapter focuses on the sample's pre-migration views concerning reasons for migration, perceptions of Canada, and immigration expectations. It also draws attention to migrants' post-migration experience of adaptation and integration process. The particular cases presented elaborate the reasons why FTP migrants have been struggling to integrate into the Canadian society.

Chapter nine focuses on discussions with the service providers and their standpoint on FTP migrants' immigration and integration experience. Based on the terms and

[27] The information obtained on the country of origin of the participants are based on their self-definition.

references of the study, the chapter examines the main challenges the newcomers and the host community encounter. Through analysis of FTP migrants' settlement challenge, this chapter highlights the current mismatch between settlement needs and services and Federal government's allocation of responsibilities and resources.

Chapter ten concludes with a discussion of study's main findings, contribution to the knowledge in the field, and suggests possible future research.

CHAPTER 2

IMMIGRATION IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Focusing on migration and integration in the Canadian context, this thesis draws attention to the complexity of both processes. Generally, immigration poses two main challenges for the receiving governments; firstly, the management of the inflow of migrants, and secondly, what is needed to integrate those who are already there. According to Potter (1999), there are implicit connections between a nation's immigration history, the underpinning national principles, and ideologies, the immigration policy in place, between macro structural processes of immigrant selection and micro structural processes of migrant integration, and between individual choice and existing structural constraints in a host society.

In view of the above, the review of the literature presented in the next three chapters explores the macro, meso, and micro dynamics of migration and the way in which these factors influence migrants' integration experience in Canada. These chapters highlight: i) the way in which current Canadian cultural and ideological thinking about immigration and immigrants; ii) immigration history; iii) Canadian socio-cultural context—its social and political institutions such as ethnic mosaic and social stratification; iv) multiculturalism and citizenship legislation and theorisation; v) institutional structures and practices, and vi) immigration policy frameworks have shaped the differing experiences of racialised nationals and migrants.

This chapter conceptualises the multifaceted nature of integration process and draws attention to the emotional and psychological, socio-cultural, and economic factors influencing it. The chapter presents evidence from the literature, which identifies the

socio-cultural, as well as institutional, and structural factors that contribute to the predominantly partial integration and marginal status of FTP migrants in Canada.

2.2 WHY DO FTP MIGRANTS MIGRATE?

Before consideration of the broader factors that have a bearing on integration experiences of FTP migrants, it is valuable to explore why large volumes of FTP migrants migrate and what in particular is alluring about Canada that motivates these migrants to uproot themselves. International migration is a heterogeneous process, which has become more complex in composition and motivation. Owing to thesis word restrictions, a detailed survey of migration theories was not possible (see Massey *et al.* 1993, 1994, and 1998). Generally, literature on migration has predominantly used economic theorisation to explain the structural forces that promote emigration from developing countries into developed nations.[28] In view of the broader world system influencing migration, Massey (1998: 281) and Faist (2000: 30-35) draw attention to '*macro*', '*meso*', and '*micro*' analytical dynamics influencing international migration. They assert that a satisfactory theoretical account of international migration must contain four basic elements:

i) Structural forces or structures that promote emigration, for instance:

- Politics (regulation of international migration through nation states and international regimes)
- Political repression and ethnic, national, and religious conflicts

[28] According to the United Nations definition, there is no established convention for the designation of "developed" and "developing" countries or areas. High-income countries are considered as having developed economies. These countries on average, have the highest material standards of living, frequently use the most advanced production techniques and equipment, and have many research and technology centres. In these countries, agriculture is typically a very small share of output and manufacturing is declining. Governments of developed countries commonly offer assistance to other countries. In common practice, Japan in Asia, Canada and the United States in North America, Australia and New Zealand in Oceania, and Western Europe are considered "developed" regions or areas (http://cyberschoolbus.un.org/infonation3/glossary.html, accessed date 01/04/07).

- Economic (income and unemployment differentials), and
- Cultural (dominant norms and discourses)

ii) Similar structural forces (*i.e.* national politics, political, economic and cultural institutions) that attract migrants

iii) Motivations, goals and aspirations of the individuals who respond to these structural forces by becoming international migrants, and

iv) Social and economic structures that arise from international emigration which connect in and out-migration

Both Massey and Faist's theorisation of international migration highlight the importance of making explicit the dynamic between structural effects of migration policy and the actions of individual migrants. Massey (1998: 282) deems that any theoretical explanation that embraces just one of these elements will unavoidably be incomplete and misleading and will provide a faulty basis for understanding international migration.

According to Massey (1998: 281), among the available literature on migration, neoclassical microeconomics and the new economics of labour migration deal with selectivity and the motivations of the people who become international migrants. According to Massey, '*Push-Pull Theory*', '*World System Theory*', '*Segmented Labour Market Theory*', and the '*Social Capital Theory*' are the most widely held approaches in explaining international migration (1998: 279-280).

The '*Push-Pull*' theories primarily summarise the movements of people as a response to "*push factors*" such as economic, social and political hardships in the places of origin and "*pull factors*", comprising of the comparative advantages in places of destination. Greater industrialisation and wealth is generally associated with Western countries that prioritise individualism, value independence, privacy, and personal fulfilment. According to Portes and Borocz (1989), the process of industrialisation and economic growth in developed countries namely United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Western European countries, and Australia has created new employment opportunities and better prospects for professional advancement and education. This in turn has

increased the demand for labour, higher wages and improved working conditions in these countries. As a result, these countries embody high levels of immigration (Taylor, 1996).

The main problems and limitations of push-pull theories is that: i) they do not consider the changing historical contexts of migration (Castles, 2003; Massey & Kouaouci, 1999); ii) they are not able to explain why certain countries and regions experience large outflows of migrants, while others in similar or even worse conditions fail to produce them (Castles, 2003); iii) they often fail to convey the dynamics associated with migrant movements, consequently neglect taking account of return flows and the policy and structural conditions at origin and destination which shape migration process (Portes, 1989; Boyd, 1989), and iv) they are unable to account for individual differences in patterns of migration (Castles, 2003; Portes & Borocz, 1989).

The '*World System Theory*' highlights that the process of the labour market divide is most discriminating in states within global cities where a high concentration of executive, administrative, and technical expertise leads to a concentration of wealth and a strong demand for low-wage services (Massey, 1998: 279-280). The '*Segmented Labour Market Theory*' further expands on this phenomenon by stressing that once unable to attract native workers, employers turn to migrants and commonly initiate immigration flows directly through formal recruitment to match the labour market demands. Given that, jobs in the primary sector provide steady work and high pay for native workers, those in the secondary sector comparatively offer low pay, little stability, and few opportunities for advancement. This phenomenon tends to discourage natives, therefore generate a clear structural demand for migrant workers. Such immigration flow is understood through '*Social Capital Theory*'. *Social Capital Theory* asserts that the concentration of migrants in certain destination areas creates a family and friend effect, which tends to channel migrants to places where their integration is facilitated through existing networks (*Ibid.*).

Statistics Canada's (2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001[29] draws attention to such kin and friendship networks in Canada for economic and refugee class of migrants. It illustrates that 87.0% of migrants had kin and friends network in Canada and 78% of these relatives were near were the migrant resided [Refer to Appendix 16]. Out of 164, 200 sample of recent migrants, 86.2% of principal applicants within the economic class and 81.7% of the spouses and dependents had friends and relatives in Canada, in comparison to 96.1% of family class, and 75.4% of refugees [Appendix 17].

It is commonly understood that if enough migrants arrive under the right conditions, an enclave economy—consisting of concentrations of members of specific minority groups in different status levels within occupations, neighbourhoods, political, religious units, *etc.* occurs. Such concentration often further augments the demand for migrant workers.

In view of the above debates, different models predominate at different phases of the migration process and different explanations carry varying weights in different regions depending on the local state of affairs in terms of history, politics, and geography. Massey's conceptualisation of international migration is very useful in understanding why so many FTP migrants have a tendency to choose Canada. Canada's long history of accommodating international migration, high levels of immigration, and approaches to immigrant selection in view of Massey's debate may be postulated as perpetuating the above-mentioned dynamics.

Throughout history people have migrated for a variety of reasons including: religion or racial persecution; war-related situations; lack of political freedom, and economic and social gains such as better education and quality of life, professional gains. Plus sentimental reasons such as the desire to settle in a country due to personal preference

---

[29] The survey included about 165,000 out of the approximately 250,000 persons admitted to Canada. It comprised of immigrants who arrived in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001, were aged 15 years or older at the time of arrival, and were landed from abroad, therefore must have applied for admission to Canada through a Canadian Mission Abroad. The survey was longitudinal and included three waves of interviews. Generally, immigrants were interviewed six months after landing in Canada. The sample was made up of 12 independent monthly samples selected over consecutive months. Collection was completed separately for each month of landing. In total, 20, 322 immigrants were selected from the target population, with 12, 128 responding to the survey in the first wave. Each respondent in the survey had been assigned a specific weigh, which estimated the number of other immigrants represented by the respondent in the population of interest (http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/tables/table4.htm, accessed date 12/10/05).

and family reunification (George & Tsang, 1998; Krau, 1991; Taylor *et al.*, 1994; Zhao *et al.*, 2000).

The microanalysis of international migration draws attention to how migrants often do not have a monolithic motivation to migrate (De Jong & Gardner, 1981; Karu, 1991). According to De Jong and Fawcett's (1981), "*Value-expectancy Model*" migration occurs when individuals associate one or several values such as wealth, status, comfort, self-sufficiency, and social membership in the place to which they are intending to migrate. They assert that individual migrants weigh these motives based on their expectation of post-migration outcomes. Taylor *et al.* (1994) assert that generally aspirations for upward economic and social mobility and greater political freedom are the principal psychological motive behind migrants' decision to emigrate. These motives affect migrants' outlook and performance long after arrival in the adopted country. According to George and Tsang (1998), migrants are motivated to migrate because of desire for gain and an aversion to risk, a desire to be comfortable, and to build better lives. Moreover, Lee and Lee (1994) add that some migrants emigrate to upgrade professional experience[30]. Whilst exploring migrants' reasons for migration in Canada, George and Tsang (1998: 18) ranked their respondents answers as listed below:

1) A better way or quality of life
2) To flee war-related situation
3) For political reasons
4) Better overall life for children
5) Seek new opportunity and adventure
6) Better and or more suitable jobs
7) To join relatives and friends in Canada
8) Better education for their children
9) Better education for themselves
10) Due to marriage

[30] For instance, Luk and Lee (1994) stress that Chinese professional migrants to Canada believe they can transfer their knowledge abroad, by meshing their credentials and experiences with overseas structures. As China's elite, these professionals expect a warm welcome when they move to Canada, though once in Canada they have found that this is not the case for many.

11) Health reasons, and

12) It was easy to migrate to Canada

However, according to Beaujot (1991: 163) once the decision to move has been made, economic factors seem to play a major role in the choice of destination. Zhao *et al.* (2000) generalise that individuals with higher socio-economic status and human capital tend to be opportunistic and respond to the pull of economic or social opportunity in the receiving society rather than the push of economic disaster or political persecution in the sending society. Focusing more specifically on FTP migrants, Chiswick (2000) adds that higher skilled migrants are more likely to move if they perceive that they may obtain a higher return on their human capital investment. According to the *Canadian Council for Refugees* (CCR) FTP refugees migrate for similar reasons as well.

> ***"For many refugees, coming to Canada actually means a drop in standard of living; people with professional careers in their home countries often end up working menial jobs in Canada."***
>
> (http://www.web.net/~ccr/mythsconf.html, accessed date 08/02/07)

Canada has been able to attract large numbers of FTP migrants through international declaration of demands for highly skilled manpower as well as assignment of immigration points to independent migrants within its immigration policy (Green, 1995; Richmond, 1992). According to the *Maytree Foundation* (2001: 5), the Canadian points system bestows FTP migrants with high expectations of the opportunities in Canada and gives them a false impression that they are welcomed. Thus far, this phenomenon seems to be particular to Canada as a by-product of the large numbers of FTP migrants it accepts annually. Not surprisingly, critics of the Canadian immigration policy have labelled it as a policy of *'Seduction and Abandonment'*. [31]

The next section describes the scope and magnitude of immigration in Canada. It analyses Canada's '*nation-building*' aspirations (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Dreier & Bernard, 1992; Reitz, 2002; Simmons, 1997), which has underpinned its ideological principles and influenced its institutional practices. Although, in Canada

[31] This concept was emphasised in an Information Kit prepared by the *Maytree Foundation*, February 23, 2001, P.5. (http://www.maytree.com, accessed at 06/03/01).

multiculturalism was fostered to manage the emergent cultural diversity and lack of cohesion, the persistence of ethnic stratification has raised questions regarding its effectiveness. In view of Canada's cultural identity, I draw attention to its social construction of race and difference and the consequent *racialisation* stemming from its nation-building agenda. Immigration critics in Canada believe that Canadian racialisation is so deeply entrenched in the current practices that it has become the principles behind the contemporary approaches to immigration and integration policies (Kallen, 2003; Miles, 1989; Satzewich, 1998). According to Galabuzi (2001: 8), such a phenomenon has diminished the value of Canadian citizenship for the racialised nationals. It is noteworthy that often individuals considered as a member of ethnic racial minorities are actually Canadian born but are assumed to have foreign origin within the current Canadian public discourse. This highlights the need for more detailed analysis of Canadian racialisation and citizenship conceptualisation.

2.3 IMMIGRATION AND MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN CANADA

The population of Canada is ethnoracially complex. It comprises of immigrants and refugees, aboriginal peoples[32], and colonising groups[33]. It has an established social and political framework that endorses multicultural principles without eroding commitment to national unity and social cohesion. Within the international context, Canada's response to diversity is considered as enlightened. The emergence of *multiculturalism* as a formal instrument for managing diversity is widely recognised as Canada's outstanding contribution to the field of race and ethnic relations. The ideological

[32] According to *Statistics Canada* (2001), the term refers to "*Those persons who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group [i.e. North American Indian, Métis or Inuit (Eskimo)], those who reported being a Treaty Indian or Registered Indian as defined by the Indian Act of Canada, and/or those who were members of an Indian Band or First Nation.*" (*Statistics Canada*, 2001, http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/pop001.htm, accessed date 12/03/07).

[33] Colonising groups refer to the English and French.

framework of Canadian multiculturalism has been copied and modified by the Australians and many European countries as an instrument of social incorporation.

According to Bibby (1990) and Breton (1986), multiculturalism in Canada arose from the decline of British Empire after World War II. At the time, the increasing American presence had amplified fears of loss of Canadian identity. Canadian multiculturalism was introduced firstly to differentiate Canadians from Americans, secondly to generally fulfil the need for a distinctive national identity, and lastly as a political strategy for ethnic inclusion. According to Fleras and Elliott (2003: 296-97):

> ***"Diversity is depoliticised under a 'colour-blind' multiculturalism by the simple expedient of institutionalising differences and channelling them into the personal or private."***

The *Canadian Royal Commission* introduced official multiculturalism as a political program in 1965 as a form of state legitimacy for pursuit of national interests. Soon after in 1971 official multiculturalism became an all-party government policy. In Canada multiculturalism arose in the course of an investigation into '*bilingualism* and *biculturalism*'[34] between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians in reference to Quebec (Rex, 1995). Multiculturalism initially originated from the pursuit of society-building principles and focused on eradicating prejudice and securing acceptance through institutional adjustment and removal of discriminatory barriers.

Fleras and Elliott (1996) elaborate that multiculturalism in Canada was envisaged through a need to build a united society in which diversity was depoliticised and incorporated as an integral and legitimate component. The policy was intended to encourage cultural and societal unity and advocate distinctiveness of the parts. In fact, Canadian multiculturalism gained its uniqueness from being built on the premise that the integration of all Canadians was possible without assimilation[35] (Harles, 1997)

---

[34] According to *CIC*, Bilingualism in its modern form began with the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, which started work in 1963 and eventually led to the original Official Languages Act in 1969. The Act introduced federal and provincial laws and policies in Canada that mandate certain services and communications to be available to the public in both English and French (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/newcomer/guide/section-07.html, accessed date 16/03/07).

[35] In North America assimilation comprises the underlying assumption that the 'governing'—the white, Anglo-European members of the host country share traits that migrants ought to attain. In Canada, the

through elimination of individual prejudices and discriminatory institutional barriers. The policy's status was secured with the constitutional establishment of it in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. Multiculturalism is recognised in section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms within the federal and, in some cases, in the provincial legislation. Nevertheless, Canada became officially multicultural when the *1988 Multiculturalism Act* was passed. The Act states that:

> ***"The government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians with regards to race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada".***
>
> (*Canadian Heritage, Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/policy/act_e.cfm, accessed date 08/02/07)

The goals of the Act [1988, c. 31, assented to 21st July 1988] comprise of Federal government's commitment to (*Department of Justice*, http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/ShowFullDoc/cs/C-18.7//20070111/en, accessed date 08/02/07):

- ***"Removing barriers in order to encourage equitable participation in all aspects of Canadian society*** **(3.1a)**
- ***Encourage social, cultural, economic and political institutions to be inclusive of ethno-cultural diversity*** **(3.1f)**
- ***Preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French*** **(3.1i)**
- ***Ensure that all Canadians have equal access to employment regardless of ethnic origins*** **(3.2a)**
- ***More generally be responsive to Canada's ethno-cultural diversity*** **(3.2f)"**

It is note worthy to mention that the official scope of multicultural mandate in Canada extends not only to public institutions but also to the business community, to the voluntary sector and to other private organisations (5.1d) [*Ibid.*].

'marginalized' groups (*i.e.* the racialised nationals and migrants) are expected to get absorbed into the basic framework as defined by the governing sector. In accordance with Adelman (2001: 4), although assimilation as a concept has been notably criticised for being ethnocentric, migrants aspire to assimilate economically and politically within their chosen host country.

According to Hawkins (1991), multiculturalism as a public policy represents the Canadian government's official recognition of the ethnic origins of its present population through legislation and programs. According to Mackey (1996: 3) since through multiculturalism government states that its intention is to protect and assist those who are not members of the founding majority or charter groups (the English and French), it lays emphasis on cultural freedom, social justice, and equality of opportunity for all within the country's political system. As follows, power and dominance in Canada appear to function through more liberal, inclusive, pluralistic, multiple and fragmented formations and practices concerning culture and difference. As a result, '*Canadian-ness*' is characterised by the evidence of '*tolerance*' and '*generosity*' often associated with multiculturalism (*Ibid*: 2). According to Rose (1995) and Mahtani (2004), this phenomenon has enabled the racialised nationals and migrants to negotiate a dual or hyphenated identity involving both heritage identity and Canadian identity.

Since official multiculturalism originated to address the national unity problems associated with immigration and diversity, it has deliberately linked immigration with multiculturalism. As such, immigration has provided the rationale for multiculturalism; while multiculturalism, in turn, has secured a receptive social climate for migrant integration. Given that Canadians live in a democratic society, the government is held accountable to its citizens for its policies and actions. As a result, it may be hypothesised that to a certain degree public attitudes shape Canadian government's policies on immigrants and refugees. Kalbach and Kalbach (1999) deem that Canadian national identity and approach to multiculturalism and immigration are closely tied to each other. This phenomenon may have contributed to the way in which Canadians define themselves. This is what Layder (1993: 89-98) was referring to through his discussions of the importance of analysing '*social context*' and the influences history and power relation dynamics have on how social problems transpire within different social settings.

The following section will draw attention to the macro factors, which influence FTP migrants' integration experience in Canada. It covers issues such as the notions of citizenship in Canada, draws attention to the Canadian system of social stratification

and its impact on migrants' integration experience, and draws attention to the problematic nature of Canadian cultural identity and multiculturalism.

2.3.1 Citizenship Theorisation in Canada

The citizenship principles, legislative, and political institutions that underpin the state's practices are highly pertinent to discussions of migrant integration since the notions of Canadian national identity inevitably influences attitudes towards migrants and refugees. Therefore, in this section I will draw attention to the Canadian government's stance regarding citizenship and discuss what it means to be a Canadian citizen. I will conclude by highlighting the ambiguities, contradictions, and weaknesses the Canadian citizenship theorisation presents in relation to its multicultural principles.

Firstly, what does it means to be a '*Canadian Citizen*'? Compared to most other industrial nations, citizenship and immigration policies in Canada have historically been liberal (Sabbatier & Berry, 1994). Canada's *Citizenship Act* of 1947 was the first in the world to disregard any distinction between immigrants and "*Canadians*" (chiefly referring to white, British and French Charter groups and pioneers with Western-European origins). The Canadian citizenship is based on the principle of "*jus soli*", whereby any child born in Canada is automatically a Canadian citizen, independent of the status of the parents. However, Canadian citizenship is deemed a privilege granted only to those considered qualified (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/legacy/chap-5.html, accessed date 08/02/07). Landed immigrants may become Canadian citizen through naturalisation after three out of four years of permanent residency.[36] By becoming citizens, migrants become the legal equals of the Canadian-born; hence enjoy the same rights, including the right to vote, to serve in the government, and to seek elected office.

[36] Refer to *Citizenship and Immigration Canada*, 'How to Become a Canadian Citizen' (July 2001) digital document available online at http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizen/howto-e.html, accessed date 08/02/07).

Whilst reflecting on migrants' current circumstance in Canada, Saloojee (2003) asserts that for citizenship to matter it must be inclusive and for inclusion to count it must successfully deal with social exclusion. In order to understand Canadian citizenship there is a need to understand the nature of societal social exclusion. According to Young (2000: 6):

> ***"Calls for inclusion arise from experiences of exclusion... from basic political rights, from opportunities to participate,*** **and** ***from the hegemonic terms of the debate".***

Universally, social inclusion and democratic citizenship have both involved ensuring all members of society are provided with the opportunity to develop their talents and have the capacity to secure the valued goods and services in society (Saloojee, 2003). Therefore, accommodating differences and eliminating barriers to equality of opportunity are the hallmarks of social inclusion. Nevertheless, since multiple forms of exclusion can exist in a socially cohesive society, social inclusion ought not to be confused with social cohesion.

Social exclusion is a multi-faceted problem (*Ibid.*). It is generally accepted that "*The move to social inclusion is eroded when the rights of minorities are not respected and accommodated to the extent that minorities feel 'othered'* "(*Ibid*: 9). As Katherine Dufy (1995) emphasises social exclusion occurs when an individual is unable to participate effectively in mainstream society's[37] social, cultural, and economic life. The transformation from '*them*' to '*one of us*' for migrants in Canada is known to take two or more generations to accomplish (Abu-Leban, 1998; Krau, 1991; Thomas, 1992).

According to Fleras and Elliott (2003: 36), in Canada the link between social exclusion and citizenship in part hinges on the degree to which migrants and marginalized communities encounter structural and systemic barriers and are denied or restricted from participation in the broader society, which in turn perpetuates racialised status quo. Conversely, social inclusion is fundamentally about citizenship rights and about the collective rights of the citizens.

[37] Mainstream Canadians are predominantly a mix of British, French, Western European, and American.

The following sections will draw attention to Canada's societal recognition of ethnic diversity and examines the extent to which Canada's declared cohesiveness is a social and cultural reality.

2.3.2 Canadian Ethnic Mosaic and System of Social Stratification

The view of Canada as comparatively tolerant of racial minorities underlies most government policy on racial discrimination. However, this is not supported by current evidence (Abbott & Beach, 1993; Aydemir & Skuterud, 2005; Baker & Dwayne, 1994; Bloom, Grenier & Gunderson, 1995; Clement, 1975; Duleep & Regets, 1997; Friedberg, 2000; Galabuzi, 2001; Grant & Oertel, 1998; Green & Green, 1999; Hiebert, 1999; Lo *et al.*, 2000; Picot, 2005; Picot & Hou, 2003; Porter, 1965; Reitz, 1998b). Although mainstream Canada is no longer 'white' Anglo-European and Canada has a distinct multicultural policy; this category of Canadians as a result of established history have retained their economic, political and cultural monopoly and dominance (Lautard & Guppy, 1990; Peak & Ray, 2001; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). Nonetheless, Canadian multiculturalism is internationally taken at face value and there is a failure in noting the disproportionate representation of ethnic minorities in various areas of society.

Evidence indicates that in Canada race, ethnicity, and culture influence social and economic stratification in a way in which it results in discrimination, prejudice, and social inequalities (Driedger & Reid, 2000; Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2001; Peak & Ray, 2001; Satzewich, 1998, to name a few). Ethnic stratification in Canada is often validated through Canadian societal cultural values and beliefs. Within the current population the highest elite levels[38] seems to be occupied predominantly by the 'white'

[38] According to *Canadian Encyclopedia.com* "elite is an adjective referring to the upper echelon of any activity – e.g., elite athletes or elite soldiers. Elites comprise of individuals who hold the top decision-

Anglo/European groups whilst the lowest levels (although historically variable) have perpetually been occupied by aboriginals, Afro-Caribbean Blacks' and more recently by the racialised nationals (Nakhaie, 1998). Based on the review of literature Lo *et al.* (2000) claims that historically three types of migrants have been identified in Canada: i) Well established migrants similar to Canada's charter ethnic groups of French and British who have originated mainly from United Kingdom, Western and Northern Europe, and United States. They have employment pattern similar to those of the Canadian-born. They tend to occupy country's top positions such as executive jobs, protected professions, and positions of authority within organizations, ii) Post-war migrants from Italy, Portugal, Greece, and Eastern Europe. These migrant groups' incomes have increased steadily despite their employment concentration in skilled trades such as construction, manufacturing, and consumer services, and iii) Migrants from Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Central and South America (in other words racialised migrants) because of their diverse country of origin are disproportionately concentrated in declining industries such as low-skill service industry and hospitality with insecure and poorly paid jobs.

Sociologists believe that such development is partially an aftermath of the 1960s changes to the Canadian immigration policy, which removed a legacy of discrimination based on country of origin. These changes are believed to have led to acceptance of newcomers whose appearance and cultural background were visibly different from the racial, ethnic, and religious heritage of mainstream Canadians (Collins, 1979; Darroch, 1979; Nakhaie, 1998).

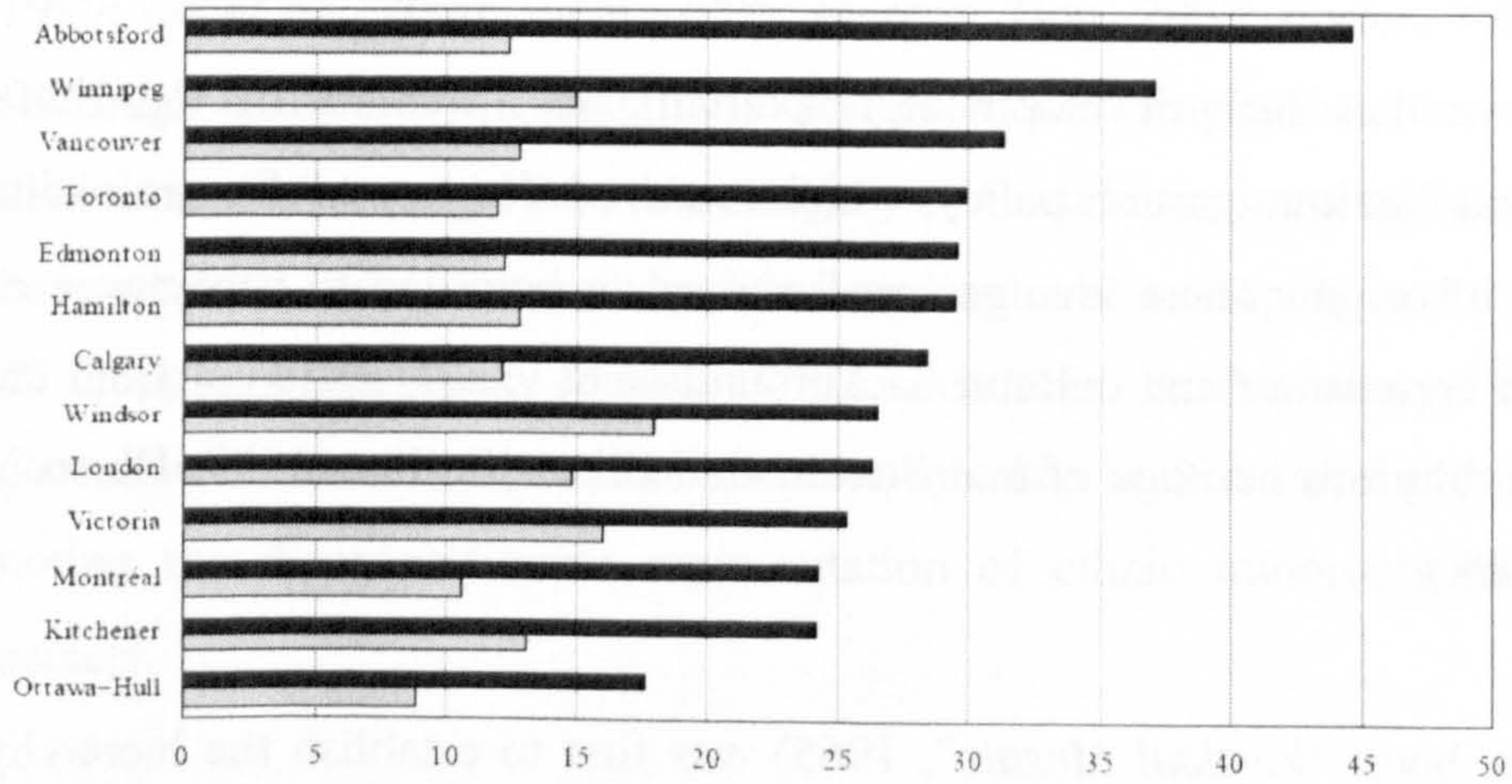
John Porter (in his book "*Vertical Mosaic*", 1965) was first to establish the hierarchy within stratified social positions in Canada. Porter's study developed the notion that each immigrant group was assigned a relatively fixed "*entrance status*" (with the exception of Western and Northern Europeans) which rendered them distinctly inferior in power and economic opportunity to the two charter groups (P. 56). Porter used occupational data from the 1931 and 1961 Canadian Census to show ethnic groups were

---

making positions and are powerful because of key positions they hold, not necessarily because they are 'the best'."
(http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0002573, accessed date 26/04/07).

disproportionately distributed in the Canadian occupational structures. He concluded that non-charter and non-Western and Northern European migrants mainly occupied the bottom layers of the stratification system in both agricultural and industrial setting. Porter argued that Canada had relied upon immigration as a means of recruiting labour for jobs that had emerged from industrialisation. He claimed that immigration and ethnic affiliation were important factors in the formation of social classes and differential access to opportunities, resources, and rewards. He asserted that there was little randomness in the representation of the ethnic groups at the elite level and that the elite were exclusive through established patterns of selection based on preferential attitudes and values of those already at the top. He perceived that in Canada such selection of successors was one of the prerogatives of power (Porter, 1965: 73). Gaventa (1980: 256) later postulated that since power serves to create power, once power relationships are established they become self-sustaining.

Figure 1: Percent of University Graduates Aged 25 to 54 Employed in Moderate-or Low-skilled Occupations by Immigration Status, Selected CMAs, 2001



Source: *Statistics Canada*, 2003
(http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/statcan/2001_census_analysis_96f0030e/96F0030XIE2001008.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

Statistics Canada's analysis of 2001 Census data [Figure 1] indicates that differential access to occupational structures and social stratification persists in Canada. The data indicates that in most CMA's university graduated recent migrants are more than 50%

likely to be employed in moderate-or low-skilled occupations in comparison to Canadian-born.

Whilst studying mainstream Canadian's preferences towards migrants, Berry and Kalin (1995) found that European groups (British, French, but also German, Italian, and Portuguese) were rated more favourably, whereas visible minorities[39] West Indian Black[40], groups from the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent (*i.e.* Indo-Pakistani, and Sikh) were rated less favourably. The Chinese occupied an intermediate position. In accordance to Galabuzi (2001: 17), the social ranking of ethnic groups in Canada is commonly related to whether they are described as immigrants or Canadian-born. Galabuzi claims that Canadians have a propensity to favour people who are born and raised in Canada. In view of this, he further expands how immigrant status is generally associated with having lower levels of human capital, which has lead to the current labour segregation of FTP migrants. This serves as evidence of the existence of racial and ethnic inequalities and validates the continued existence of ethnic hierarchy in Canada. According to Hagendoorn (1995), this phenomenon is not unique to Canada and similar ethnic hierarchy exist in other western societies such as United States (Green, Tigges & Diaz, 1999; Carter, 2003), United Kingdom (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; HESA, 2002; CHERI, 2002; Villar, Juan, Corominos & Cappell, 2000), France (Alba, 2005; Silverman, 1992), and Netherlands (Hagendoorn & Peples, 2003; Hagendoorn & Sniderman, 2001 to name a few).

Within the literature two analytical frameworks have generally been used to account for the persistence of Canadian ethnic hierarchy and social stratification: i) the "*Labour Market Segmentation Theory*" (Bauder, 2002; Hiebert, 1999; Reich, Gordo & Edwards, 1973) and ii) the "*ethnic enclave economy thesis*" (Hiebert, 2003; Qadeer, 2005; Wilson

---

[39] During 1980s and 1990s, the federal government socially constructed the term visible minority in order to meet data requirements for employment equity legislation and program. The *Canadian Employment Equity Act* defines visible minority as referring to individuals who are "non-Aboriginal, non-Caucasian in race, and non-white in colour" (*Employment and Immigration Canada*, 1987: 6-3). Ten groups are officially designated as visible minorities in Canada—Blacks, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Latin Americans, Other Pacific Islanders, Indo-Pakistanis (or South Asians), South East Asians, and West Asians and Arabs (http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050322/d050322b.htm, accessed date 15/02/07). Due to exclusionary and ethnocentric roots of the term, within this thesis these individuals are refered to as '*racialised groups or migrants*' (refer to glossary for further details).

[40] Within Canada, the term refers to Indo-Caribbean Blacks.

& Portes, 1980). Hiebert (1999) through studying the occupational distribution of ethnic groups in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver tested the validity of labour market segmentation theory in Canada. Although his results reflected earlier findings and demonstrated that men and women of racialised nationals occupied more than their share of 'secondary' occupations. He stressed that the relationships between ethnicity, immigration, gender, and occupation in Canada's largest cities are too complex to explain by labour market segmentation theory. Two major limitations have generally been associated with studies exploring Canadian ethnic hierarchy and social stratification. Firstly, there is a lack of control for ethnicity. Secondly, this phenomenon and other limitations within data have prevented rigorous control of all relevant variables (*Ibid.*).

In contrast according to Kazemipur (2002), the '*ethnic enclave economy thesis*' has had less difficulty defining the boundaries of ethnic enclaves, partly because it is more visible and spatially concentrated. Li (2000) and Pendakur and Mata (1999) have found that general structural barriers within the broader economy push migrants towards employment in the ethnic enclaves or self-employment.

Kazemipur (2002: 6) asserts that the fundamental basis of both perspectives refutes the more recent neo-classical "*Human Capital Theory*" founded on the labour market functioning in an environment of perfect competition and free circulation of information and material resources. Human Capital Theory focuses on the value of the employee's education and experience as exchanged in the labour market and assume that workers are allocated to jobs on the basis of their education and work experience. As a result, employers value what they socially consider as superior skills and qualifications. In view of this, apparent concentration of people with similar ethnic origin in certain jobs is merely a product of the correspondence between the individuals' shared human capital stock and the human capital requirements of the jobs rather than being an outcome of systematic bias in the hiring practices within the labour market (*Ibid*: 7-8).

However, "*Institutional Theory*" defines careers and the structure of professions as socially constructed (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Scott, 2001). A professional career is

assumed to start with education, apprenticeship, and certification, followed by successive jobs with increasing responsibilities and managerial content. However, Granovetter (1985) asserts that professions are embedded in social structures that vary in different settings. Collins (1979) stresses that when powerful North American professions set certification standards, the definitions of the human resources becomes institutionalised within the labour market structures. Because of institutionalisation of the human resources, employers often ignore those whose past career paths and achievements do not conform to the familiar patterns (Boyd & Thomas, 2001). By closing the labour markets to outsiders, those in positions of power create an internal labour market for their members (Osterman, 1984). Since the international labour markets are gendered as well as racialised, Hanson *et al.* (1996) claim that the interpretations of suitable occupations for men and women will ultimately vary in different countries, as will their fates after migration.

Despite the above evidence, there have been many debates as to whether vertical mosaic still exists in Canada. According to Kazemipur (2002: 6), although in recent years there has been a weakening of association between ethnicity and occupation, the visible concentration of certain ethnic groups in particular types of work is known to persist (*e.g.*: Korean shopkeepers, Italian masons, Black porters and chambermaids, and East-Indian[41] cab drivers). According to Li (1996) these debates have only produced claims and counter claims about the validity of a narrowly-defined version of the vertical mosaic but they have offered little theoretical insight into racial and ethnic inequalities in Canada.

It is commonly accepted that for true equality of opportunity to exist, each ethnic minority would have to be represented in the elite in the same proportion as their numbers in the total population. Curtis, Grabb, and Guppy (1993) claim that one measure of discrimination found in the current Canadian labour market is in the representation of individuals from various ethnic backgrounds in the country's top jobs. In support of their claims, they cite Clement (1975: 231):

---

[41] The term is a synonym for South Asians in the US, Canada, and Netherlands. It is widely used in Canada to distinguish people with ancestral origin from India from those from Caribbean often referred to as West Indian.

> ***"In Canada, as in many modern societies built on conquest and immigration, ethnicity is interwoven into the class system so that it provides advantages to the conquerors while keeping the conquered and newly arrived at the bottom of the so-called 'opportunity structure'."***

Consequently, analysing ethnic divisions as in exploration of gender divisions requires analysis of historical structural constraints. As a result, there is a need to examine both the establishment of institutions that have privileged some and disadvantaged others and the ideologies that have been developed to justify these inequalities. For instance, Hill (1997: 61) draws attention to the fact that conventionally nation-states have established cohesive society through application of a system that has defined who does and does not belong and have set ideologies to justify these rules. The remainder of this chapter will explore why there seems to be categorical (based on immigration class and ethnicity) differentiation amongst migrants and what do these differentiated experiences means in terms of the Canadian multiculturalism and citizenship?

2.3.3 Framing the Problem: Has Multiculturalism Been A 'Problem-solving' or 'Problem-making' Policy?

The policy of multiculturalism as practiced in Canada has been subject to periodic criticism and accused of being an inequitable instrument that is divisive. According to Hawkins (1991: 215), "*While multiculturalism in Canada represents a genuine effort on the part of the majority to achieve a greater degree of equality and social justice for all citizens; it is nevertheless an artificial creation taking the form of a broad government-supported and financed interest group or coalition of ethnic communities*". He has emphasized how the movement so far has not to any substantial extent had strong roots within the communities in a collective sense or been self-generated. In Canada multiculturalism as a policy has not had well-defined limits and has involved a new relationship between the Canadian government and the ethnic communities. According to its critics (Fleras, 2001; Fleras & Elliott, 1996; Henry & Tator, 2000; Vasta &

Castles, 1993) in Canada multiculturalism as a policy has been more concerned with society building and institutionalisation of consensus and containment rather than change. Fleras (2001: 340) asserts that as a policy multiculturalism is believed to have done little to challenge the cultural hegemony of the dominant sector or to remove the existing systemic discriminatory practices.

The debates over the pros and cons of multiculturalism reveal how contemporary social problems are contested sites and the definition of social problems tend to change over time. This in turn necessitates responding to the pressures that influence the change and determine the need for modification of definitions and solutions in response to the emergent realities and oppositional tensions. However, it is not uncommon for solutions to social problems to trigger unanticipated consequences. In view of this, Fleras (2001: 332) highlights that these dimensions reinforce awareness that "*The distinction between problem and solution is only an interpretation apart*". Within this thesis the above arguments accentuates the need to determine whether multiculturalism policy as applied in Canada has been successful in solving the national unity problem, or not? In addition, how we can validate this?

I argue that although multiculturalism is a potentially progressive social experiment; it is imperfect in nature because of engaging with diversity without challenging both the society-building processes behind it and the continuance of national hegemony (Abu-Laban & Stasiulis, 1992; Fleras, 1994, 2001). I explore how discrepancies between ideological and the factual aspects of multicultural values influence policy and practice in Canada.

For analysis purposes Fleras and Elliott (1996: 348) have classified adverse reactions to multiculturalism into four categories: i) multiculturalism as "*divisive*", since it undermines Canadian society; ii) multiculturalism as "*regressive*", because it defuses visible minority's aspirations and needs; iii) multiculturalism as "*ornamental*", owing to its manipulation of symbols which fosters an illusion rather than being a substance of change, and iv) multiculturalism as "*irrelevant*", because of the inappropriate cultural

solutions it offers for structural problems. The remainder of this section will critically assess the validity of the above criticisms.

i) Is Multiculturalism '*Divisive*'?

It has already been mentioned how multiculturalism originated and continues to exist as a pragmatic instrument for establishing Canada as a distinct society. According to Fleras and Elliott (1996: 348) multiculturalism is not concerned with the promotion of diversity as demonstrated in *Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 or the promotion of minority cultures. In fact, its goals are firmly fixed in building a united society. Fleras and Elliott assert that the policy states that every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values merely to the extent that the practice does not violate Canada's mainstream laws, impede rights of others, or discredit countries fundamental political and economic institutions.

Therefore, Eisenstein (1996) postulates that although the policy promotes self-sufficiency of various ethnic groups, every Canadian has the right to be different only within the boundaries set by mainstream Canadians. Mahtani (2002: 16) suggests that the policy advocates peculiar paradoxical positions. On the one hand, it insists that all Canadians are given the right to preserve their ethnic heritage, whilst on the other hand; it assumes that there is such a thing as a discrete and separate "*Canadian*" society that migrants ought to integrate in. According to Hill (2001) this concept is illuminated through narratives portraying who is the '*real*' Canadian. According to Isajiw (1997: 90), the policy constructs specific socio-spatial boundaries between the identifications of '*Canadian*' and '*non-Canadian*', which results in migrants' identity formation comprising both processes of self and societal inclusion and exclusion. Consequently, a major dynamic effecting migrants' integration is the extent to which mainstream population's perceptions of national identity allow variations from the Anglo/European ancestry. According to Canadian conceptualisation of citizenship, Isajiw (1997: 91) asserts that migrants' identities, even if subjectively defined as Canadian often remain alien or at best, Canadian only in the political-bureaucratic sense. Consequently as an

ideology, multiculturalism presuppose '*self' vs.* '*other*', of '*us*' *vs.* '*them*', of '*sameness*' *vs.* '*difference*', of '*assimilation*' *vs.* '*separation*', and of '*insider*' *vs.* '*outsider*' (*Ibid.*).

The Canadian multicultural policy advocates for racialised nationals and recent migrants to position their ethnic identity first and foremost to their Canadian identity. According to Rose (1995) such imposed hyphenated identities has entangled the Canadian ethnic and national positioning in a way that effectively it has positioned ethnicity outside Canadian identity or the notion of Canadianness. In view of this, Gwyn (1996: 234) draws attention to the exclusionary as well as emotional/psychological impact this phenomenon may have on racialised groups:

> ***"The absurdity here is that no one from Italy, say, or Somalia, comes to Canada to be an Italian or Somali. They come here to be Canadian. As soon as they landed, though, their new state in effect tells them that rather than becoming Canadians they must remain Italian-Canadians, Somali-Canadians, and so on."***

This phenomenon highlights how although every Canadian has the right to be different, racialised nationals and recent migrants are differentiated through the imposed hyphenated identities. In addition, this phenomenon draws attention to the two-stream and or the divisive nature of Canadian citizenship and it is essentially "*monoculturalist values"* which imposes values, practices, and established institutional framework of Caucasian-white, Anglo-European citizens (Goldberg, 1994).

Whilst considering how multiculturalism is practiced in Canada, Bissoondath (1994: 122) highlights that differences between people are obvious enough for there not be the need for further emphasis through formal policy and state determined racial ethnic identity. He further expands that when mainstream Canadians consider racialised migrants' ancestral land as their '*true*' homeland, they distance and marginalise them in Canada (*Ibid*: 120). The quotation below captures the essence of his arguments regarding the 'divisiveness' of multiculturalism ethos as is felt by racialised migrants in Canada.

> ***"People, regardless of their origin, do not emigrate to preserve their culture and nurture their ethnic distinctiveness. If they wished to do that, they would stay where they were because the environment is more conducive to the perpetuation of one's culture and ethnicity.***

> ***Immigrants come here to become Canadians; to be productive and contributing members of their chosen society, I am one of them. I did not come here to be labelled as an ethnic or a member of the multicultural community, or to be coddled with preferential treatment, nurtured with special grants, and then to sit on the sidelines and watch the world go by. I came here to be the member of the mainstream of the Canadian society. I do not need paternalism; I need opportunity. I do not want affirmative action; I expect fairness. I do not desire special consideration; I wish to be treated equally. [...] Whether or not I preserve my cultural background is my personal choice; whether or not an ethnic group preserves its cultural background is the group's choice. The State has no business in either."***
>
> (Bissoondath, 1994: 220)

Moreover, the fieldwork for this research provides further evidence of how even "*immigrant*" as a label bears negative connotations and embodies such exclusionary status in Canada. Historically Canada's monocultural principles has excluded or denied those outside its preferred scope. This has made Canada the land of opportunities for selective migrants; consequently provides further evidence of the rhetoric nature of how multicultural principles are applied in Canada. According to Bissoondath (1994: 213), cultural chauvinism (the idea that "*we*' are superior to "*them*") and the ensuing societal division can be stopped through collective acceptance of heritage identification as prerogative of the individual.

ii) <u>Is Multiculturalism '*Regressive*'?</u>

The debates surrounding multiculturalism being regressive have commonly been based on institutional inclusiveness. In the past, racialised nationals and recent migrants and minorities were expected to fit into the existing institutional framework as part of the adjustment process. However, presently institutions are also expected to move over and make space. Current reforms are focused on rooting out systemic biases related to recruitment, hiring, promotion and training; however there has not been conclusive proof of dramatic shifts in the minority's socio-economic status because of multiculturalism. In fact, multiculturalism has been discredited as a regressive tool that distracts minorities from access to power and resources. Multiculturalism is often seen

as having the effect of marginalising minority women and men into ethnic ghettos that prevent full and equal participation in broader society (Bissoondath, 1994). This type of exclusion is known to foster construction of an '*underclass*' (Wilson, 1979) wherein minorities are perceived as having no stake in the broader institutional systems of a state. The underclass hypothesis was developed in the United States by William Wilson (1979) referring to patterns of poverty in which the poor low-skilled racialised ethnic groups are concentrated in urban communities with few jobs, few institutions that can provide help, and few residents with connections to either employers or helping institutions. However, as mentioned earlier racial and ethnic minorities are not uniformly marginalized within the Canadian society.

iii) Is Multiculturalism '*Ornamental*'?

As has been mentioned previously [Refer to point i] some critics of multiculturalism assert that it endorses a commitment to ethnicity and diversity that is symbolic and situational, rather than political (Edelman 1964, 1971; Goldberg, 1997, 1994; Hawkins, 1991; Stoffman, 2002). Multicultural principles are often implemented symbolically because of the perceived threat the autonomous minority groups with parallel institutions and a separate power basis pose on national sovereignty. The symbolic value of multiculturalism can create a social climate in which diversity may flourish without penalisation of its proponents so it can embody frivolous political diversion. In view of this, multicultural policies may be used as a mechanism to only give the impression that the government is taking action to create an inclusive society. Therefore it may be hypothesised that multiculturalism in Canada is used as a mechanism to maintain political support rather than as a means to tackle existing problems with social cohesion. However, Fleras (2001) and Isajiw (1997) deem that critics of multiculturalism hold it accountable for focusing on the symbols of diversity rather than its substance, which they assume is beyond its mandate. Symbolic policies may also serve a political purpose. It may be an outcome of the need of being seen to be doing something.

iv) Is Multiculturalism '*Irrelevant*'?

There is doubt whether cultural solutions such as multiculturalism policy can be applied to structural problems such as systemic discrimination (Satzewich, 1993). According to Isajiw (1997: 98), because systemic discrimination has been a long-standing structural problem in Canada it has resulted in societal acceptance of migrants' differential incorporation as a precondition to integration process. Moreover, since Canada is a society organised around the principles of democracy, profit, private property, competitive individualism, and consumerism some critics believe that true application of multicultural principles is impractical or irrelevant (Fleras & Elliott, 1996). Nevertheless, there are two ways of challenging such criticisms. Firstly, according to Vasta and Castles (1996), multiculturalism was never intended to do what international communism was incapable of accomplishing, that is to end capitalism and all the problems associated with it. In contrast, it was devised to establish a morally authoritative framework that through softening cultural inequalities experienced by marginalized members of the society would enable inequalities to be addressed, debated, challenged, and transformed within the existing capitalist system. Secondly, according to Fleras (1994, 2001), modern reinvention of multiculturalism, which has come about from change of focus on structure rather than culture has resulted in social transformation of capitalism and establishment of the primacy of '*equality rights*' over traditionally held '*inequality rights*'.

As official multiculturalism originated to address national unity, Canada still faces problems associated with migrant integration and acceptance of diversity. According to Fleras (2001: 347), multiculturalism as a policy cannot be the root of all of Canada's social problems or the all-encompassing solution to problems that belong to political or economic domains. But it may be seen as a mechanism that plays a part in engaging ethnic diversity while seeking to balance the competing demands of individuals, minority groups, national unity and even society building. However, Isajiw (1997) asserts that the above debates raise questions regarding whether multiculturalism as a

policy directed at reforming society can possibly address deep-rooted problems such as social inequalities.

Dye (1976: 21) asserts that if researchers are interested in examining the genuineness of policies that address imminent social problems, such assessment ought to be part of the object of the enquiry rather than assumptions arising from the research. Therefore, this study aims to explore the rhetoric nature of Canadian multiculturalism and immigration policy as presented through literature as well as through analysis of empirical accounts obtained from FTP migrants.

The following section explores the scope of migrants' integration in Canada and will further examine to what extent racialised nationals and recent migrants are integrated or segregated from the rest of the society. Within the section, I draw attention to what this differentiated experience means in terms of Canadian multiculturalism and investigate to what extent the phenomenon is an outcome of the population's overall economic well-being in Canada.

2.4 CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE TERM 'INTEGRATION'

This section proceeds with conceptualisation of the term '*integration*' and explores literature evidence representing the scope of migrant integration from psychological, socio-cultural, and economic perspectives. More specifically, it explores the individual versus structural barriers to full societal integration for recent FTP migrants. The section identifies socio-cultural as well as institutional and structural factors contributing to predominantly partial integration and marginal status of FTP migrants in Canada and what is the impact of these barriers. More specifically, it explores the impact of inequalities experienced within the labour market on individual migrants and draws attention to contemporary integration needs that are not systematically being met in Canada.

According to CCR (1998), the process of integration is so complex in nature that there are many different terms used for describing the process including: '*settlement*', '*adaptation*', '*acculturation*', and '*assimilation*'. According to *Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants* (OCASI, 1991: 8), the term settlement and integration are generally used interchangeably to refer to the long-term, two-way process whereby migrants become full and equal participants in the various dimensions of society as the host society gains access to their human resource potential. Both processes are multi-dimensional concepts and their complexity reflects the complexity of individual migrants and of the host society. Therefore, the interaction between structural factors such as history of immigration, the effects of immigration policy, multiculturalism, and acceptance of diversity, *etc.*, individual ones like resources such as level of education, work experience, interpersonal skills, *etc.*, and migrants' abilities to make choices (human agency) is difficult to disentangle. Integration experiences differ from individual to individual and from group to group, so does the nature and the response of the receiving communities. This phenomenon is hypothesised as the reason why individuals and communities integrate differently in some aspects of life but not in others.

Within most sociological literature on migration, the terms 'adaptation' and 'acculturation' are often used somewhat interchangeably. For the purpose of this thesis, acculturation is used when referring to the process of adaptation and changes whereby a person or an ethnic, social, religious, or language group integrates with or adapts to the cultural values and patterns of the majority group. According to Henry *et al.* (1995), acculturation is essentially the process by which a "*State or society enables, induces or insists that a person who did not previously belong to a culture acquires the characteristics of that culture.*" The review of literature on integration considers adaptation as the initial process within migrant settlement process. It is assumed that adaptation may or may not lead to integration.

Migrant adaptation has been researched largely from the early days of sociological research, starting with the *Chicago School* (Driedger, 1996). It has been the subject of both macro scale (*e.g.* from a collective perspective such as international population

movement) and micro scale theories (*e.g.* from individual perspective such as personal well-being) (Richmond, 1994; Ward, 1996). Moghaddam, Taylor, and Wright (1993) regard adaptation as comprising of three critical elements: *psychological*, *socio-cultural*, and *economic* (P.137). Within this thesis, psychological adaptation refers to a migrants' sense of well-being and satisfaction with different aspects of life. Characteristics, such as: sense of identity, age of migration, employment status, level of education, and duration of resettlement have been found to influence migrants' psychological well-being (Aroian *et al.*, 2003; Bernstein & Shuval, 1997; Hurh & Kim, 1990; Isajiw, 1997). Socio-cultural adaptation refers to migrants' ability to acquire skills to manage everyday situations, which is also assumed to enable them to become full participants in the host society. Lastly, economic adaptation reflects the extent to which migrants feel competent in meeting the host country's market demands in order to achieve their financial goals.

Assimilation is in fact a concept used in United States. This term is generally not widely used by Canadian migration theorists. It refers to either deliberate or unconscious, one-way process of absorption into the mainstream, dominant sector of the host society. It often operates through a process whereby the dominant sector imposes its culture, authority, values, and institutions on the subordinate sector and requires ethnic groups and migrants to surrender their ethnic, cultural, and foreign national identity. Fleras and Elliott (2003: 12) elaborate that through assimilation, the dominant sector undermines the non-nationals' cultural basis, converts minority members into patriotic and productive citizens, exposes them to dominant norms, and facilitates their entry and transition into the mainstream. In view of this, assimilation may be both formal and informal in structure. According to Zhou (1997), assimilation is a complex and multi-dimensional process that occurs at a varying pace, involves different intensities of absorption, ranges in scope from cultural to institutional, and entails varying magnitudes of conformity. Nevertheless, assimilation may also occur devoid of the overt or direct influence of the dominant sector. For instance, Alba and Nee (1997) assert that migrants may experience pull towards the mainstream as a response to the limited alternatives or out of personal desire to improve their social situation in the settling society.

The early sociological literatures on integration generally refer to Milton Gordon's theory of assimilation. Gordon (1964: 70-71) distinguished seven types of assimilation: 1) '*cultural or behavioural'* referring to the change of cultural patterns of ethnic groups to those of the "core group/s"[42] in the host society (also known as acculturation); 2) '*structural'* referring to large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the larger society; 3) '*marital'* referring to large-scale intermarriage, sometimes called "amalgamation"; 4) '*identificational'* referring to the development of a sense of 'peoplehood' based exclusively on the larger society; 5) '*attitude receptional'* referring to the absence of prejudice; 6) '*behaviour receptional*' referring to the absence of discrimination, and 7) '*civic'* referring to the absence of value and power conflict.

Although Gordon's objective was to describe the whole process, his concept included only primary group relationships and ignored the secondary group structure (involving absorption into the mainstream institutional structures of the larger society such as economic, political, educational, *etc.*, and the voluntary associations such as cultural, professional, religious, special interest, *etc.*) of the larger society. He perceived entrance into primary groups as the path to intermarriage, which he generally assumed as contributing to the overcoming of prejudice and discrimination. However, according to Isajiw (1999: 169), excluding the secondary group structure has meant ignoring a large part of the reality of the minority groups' everyday life and what determines other types of assimilation (*i.e.* personal/individual, cultural, structural, and political). Social incorporation into these structures, on the level of individuals, means inclusion of racialised migrants into any of these organisations or associations on any status level. While at the collective level, social incorporation into the secondary-group level structures involves inclusion of minority ethnic organisations or associations into the mainstream institutional structures of the host society. As previously discussed, this type of inclusion is encouraged through Canadian multiculturalism policy. For true social incorporation to occur, selected aspects of racialised ethnic structures ought to be built as substructures within the mainstream institutions (Isajiw, 1997: 84-85).

[42] Core group/s refers to mainstream population.

According to Jaret (1995), integration by contrast embodies a two-way process through which the dominant and subordinate sector/s is brought together, without either losing its distinctiveness. It refers to a process whereby individuals interact with each other at all institutional levels. It is the symmetric rather than asymmetric social process whereby members of both the migrant and receiving communities change as migrants settle into the host society. Kage (1962: 165) notes that in 1952 the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defined integration as a "*Gradual process by which new residents become active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural, and spiritual affairs of a new homeland*". Fleras and Elliott (2003: 14) assert that integration involves the proactive process of unifying different and unequal parts into a cooperative and functioning whole; hence, it is concerned with the attainment of equality in practice. In view of this assimilation is understood as placing the 'host' society in dominant position, demanding that migrants change to become the same as indigenous people, whereas integration means a greater degree of acceptance of difference and 'give and take' on both sides. Similarly, Adelman (2001: 4) highlights that if assimilation is the economic and political goal of migrants, integration is the social and cultural goal. Nevertheless, in practice the outcomes of both processes may be indistinguishable and involve subordinate group/s getting absorbed into the basic framework as defined by the dominant sector.

2.4.1 Integration: As a Multifaceted Process

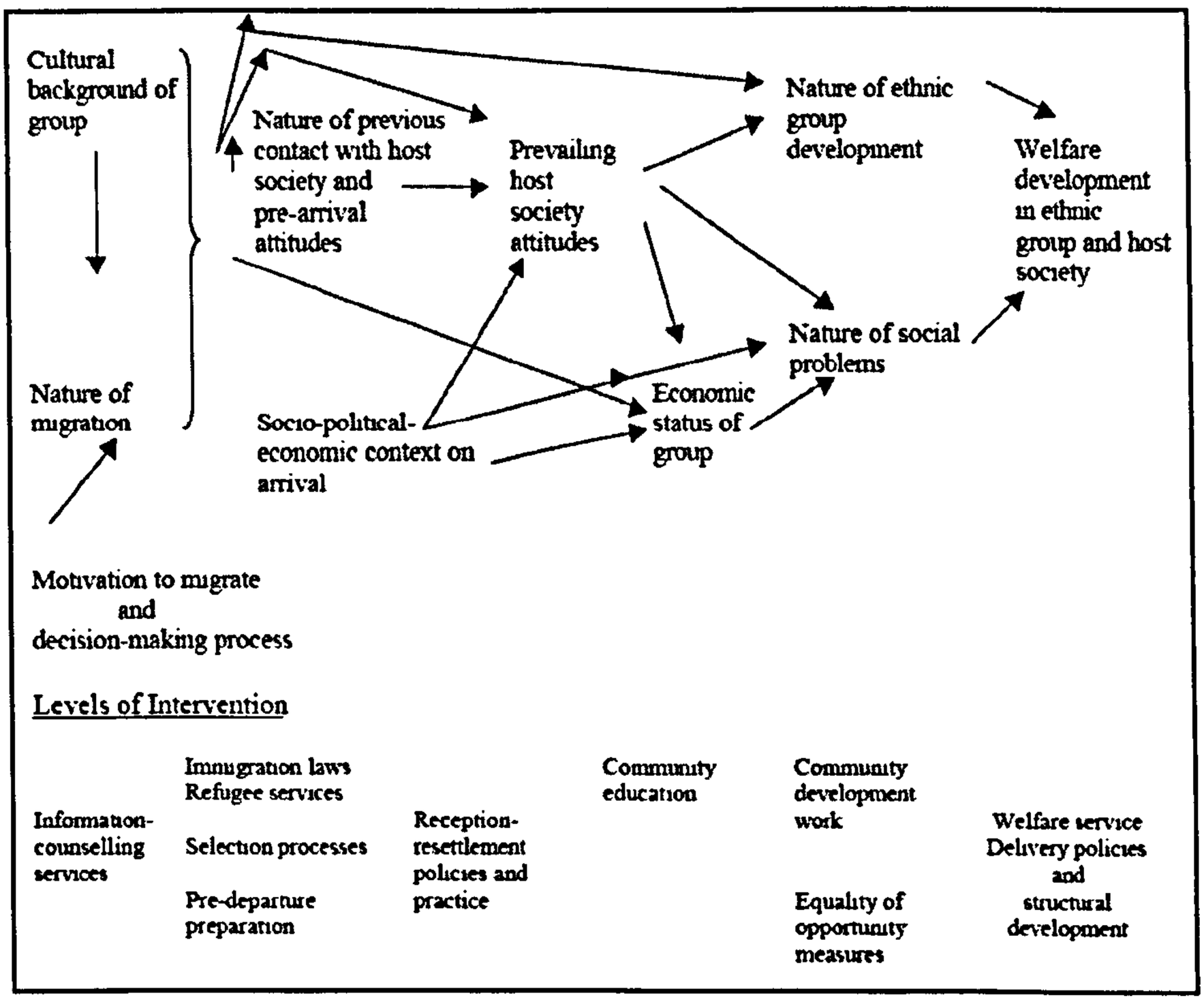
According to CERIS (1999)[43], Cox's (1985) model represents migration as a process consisting of four stages: i) pre-migration, ii) transition, iii) resettlement, and iv) integration (Refer to Figure 2). Cox's model draws attention to a series of independent variables at each stage of the integration process, which influence the outcome, such as:

[43] Cited in CERIS (http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/other/holder1/chap3.html, Discussion Series, June 1999, accessed date 08/01/07).

- Socio-economic, cultural, political, and educational background of the individual migrants
- The nature of individual's migration (*i.e.*, voluntary or involuntary)
- The nature of migrants' previous contact with the host society and the ensuing pre-arrival attitudes of both the migrant and the host population in view of: past colonial history, migration history, societal and cultural acceptance of diversity, and global events such as: social, cultural, religious, political, and diplomatic tensions or wars
- Socio-economic and political context in which migrants arrive (*e.g.*, periods of recession and unemployment, political agenda and response to immigration)
- Scope of existing racism and discrimination, and
- Nature of ethnic group's development in the host country (*i.e.*, the presence of informal or formal community institutions)

In view of Cox's model, CERIS asserts that the variables that influence migrants' integration. They i) have an effect on the nature of social problems experienced post-migration to Canada; ii) influence the extend of the needs experienced by different migrant population, and also iii) have a bearing on the types of social safety net such as welfare and service entitlements available to migrants within the host country (*Ibid.*).

Figure 2: Cox's Migration/Integration Process



Source: Cox (1985) "Welfare services for migrants: Can they be better planned?" *cit* CERIS, Discussion Series, June 1999 (http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/other/holder1/cover.html, 08/01/07).

Cox's model identified six intervening measures that the host society could apply to better integrate migrants (Refer to Figure 2):

1) Immigration policies and practice (*i.e.* immigration laws, selection process, refugee services, pre-departure preparation)
2) Reception/resettlement policies and practice (*i.e.* information and counselling services)
3) Community education
4) Equality of opportunity measures
5) Community development, and
6) Provision of personal welfare services (*i.e.* welfare delivery services policies, and structural developments)

Although individual migrants' experience in relation to integration is multifaceted, there are general characteristics that are common. For instance, the integration process is generally two-way in nature, involving mutual adaptation of migrants and members of the host society. Although the demands of adjustment tend to be focused on migrants who are expected to make significant adaptations (at times willingly or unwillingly), the societies that receive migrants go through a process of change as well.

However, according to CERIS (1999) Cox's model has received criticism. One of the most recent criticism has been from OCASI (2001: 6) who claimed that Cox does not identify variables at the individual level that impact on migration experience such as: personal attributes (*i.e.* age, gender, family composition, socio-economic level, education, skill level, occupation, past experiences, rural/urban background, culture, belief system, language, and social networks) and bureaucratic processes associated with immigration or asylum (*i.e.* accreditation recognition, refugee determination, *etc.*), which it claims affect the degree to which migrants are permitted to integrate into the Canadian society. Drachman and Halberstadt (1992) highlight that when considering migrants' integration within the host country; their pre-migration personal variables are of great importance. Therefore, through exploration of participants' pre-migration circumstances and hopes regarding life in Canada, the empirical research for this thesis attempts to contribute towards contemporary understanding of migration and integration process.

CCR (1998) claims that the indicators of the migration and integration process may be explored through four main spheres (Table 1): social, cultural, economic, and political. Within each sphere, the speed and degree of integration may vary and what happens in one sphere may affect the outcome in other spheres. For instance, according to Neuwirth (1997) migrants who succeed in integrating economically tend to integrate socially and culturally more easily.

Table 1: Possible Indicators of Settlement and Integration

DIMENSION	SHORT-TERM (SETTLEMENT)	LONGER TERM (INTEGRATION)
Social	▪ Established social network ▪ Diversity within social network	▪ Accessing institutions ▪ Engaging in efforts to change institutions
Cultural	▪ Adaptation of various aspects of lifestyle (*e.g.* diet, family relationships)	▪ Engaging in efforts to redefine cultural identity ▪ Adapting or reassessing values
Economic	▪ Entering job market ▪ Financial independence	▪ Career advancement ▪ Income parity ▪ Entry into field of prior employment
Political	▪ Citizenship ▪ Voting	▪ Participation in political parties ▪ Participation in socio-political movements

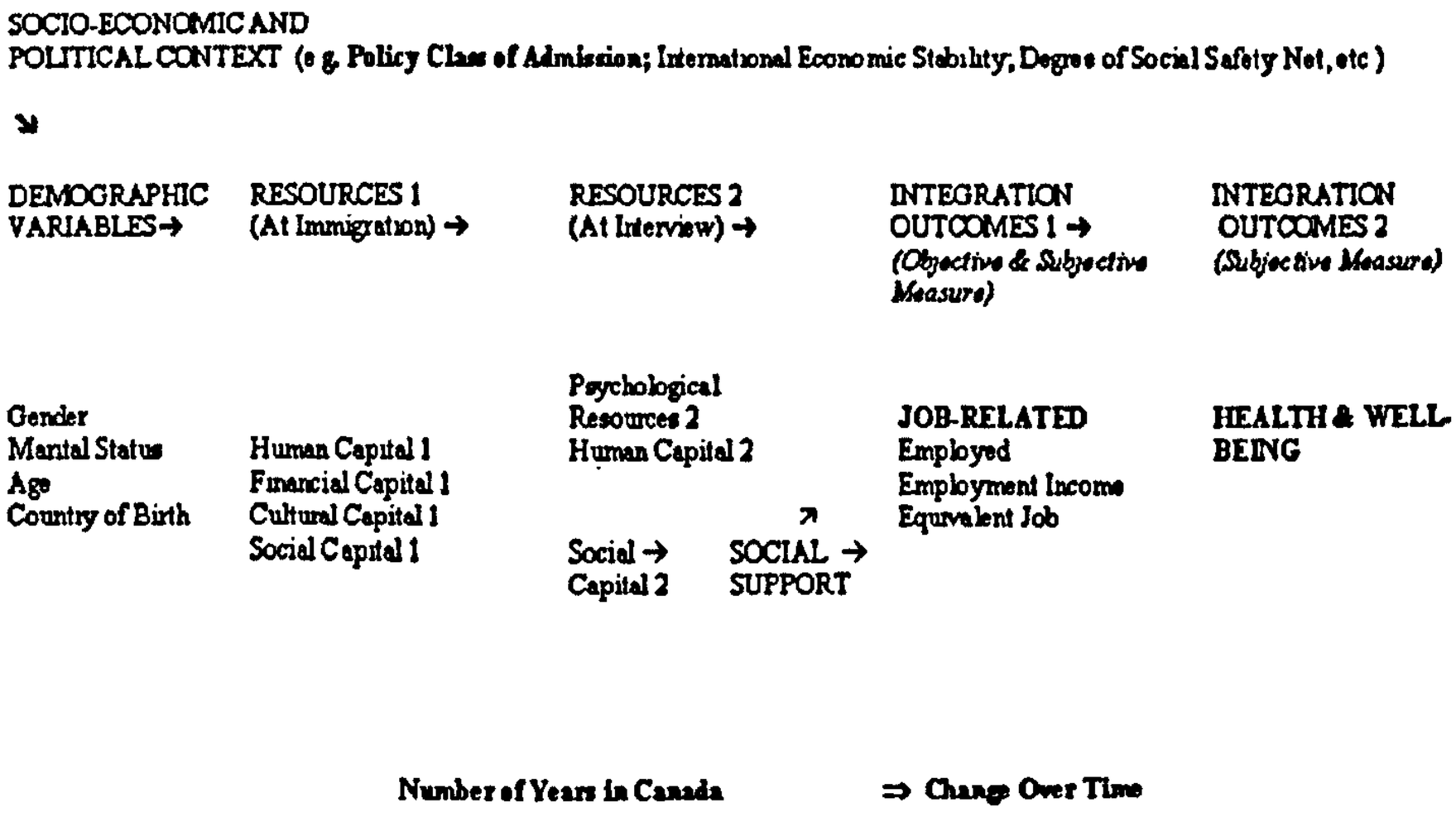
Source: CCR (1998) [http://www.web.net/~ccr/bpfina1.htm, accessed date 02/09/06].

However, *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (UNHCR, 1997) maintains that conceptualisation of these processes is problematic because such indicators are still in the developmental stage. Moreover, individuals' integration I a two way process involving the individual and the society. It also means assessing integration against an ideal, though there are disputes about who attains such ideal.

This thesis attempts to contribute to the existing knowledge base by locating individual barriers within the Canadian social state of affairs and policies. It attempts to elucidate why migrants typically experience an entry effect upon arrival in Canada and explores the subsequent effects of the phenomenon for the migrants and the Canadian society.

Within the literature, the concept of migrant integration is understood as operating on several levels: i) that of the individual migrant and his/her family, ii) immigrant/ethnic communities and sub-communities, iii) the non-immigrant individuals in the society, and iv) the host society as a whole, represented by collective entities such as the culture and the economy. As it has been mentioned, the focus of this thesis is on the subjective migration and integration experience of FTP migrants and their family. I used Potter's (1999) integration model (Figure 3) in an attempt to make sense of migrants' experience and the complexity of the interaction between factors influencing the integration process.

Figure 3: Potter's Model of Integration Process



Source: Potter (1999) [http://ceris.metropolis.net/virtual%20library/community/potter/chapter2.htm, accessed date 13/01/07].

The remainder of this chapter as well as the next chapter will explore what current evidence and statistics reveal about migrants' level of integration in Canada and examines the personal stories behind the figures. It will generally draw attention to evidence indicating how mainstream Canadians and newcomers view the process of migration and integration in Canada and will emphasise psychological, socio-cultural, and economic factors that influence both immigration and integration processes.

Adelman (2001: 10) emphasises how integration is not just an economic issue. He claims that social, cultural, and political and legal backgrounds of the migrants and the existing social, cultural, and political environment of the country; as well as the area to which the migrants migrate to play a major part in the migrants' integration process. Given that economic gains are prime determinant of international population movements, economic indicators have commonly received more attention within the literature (Boyd, 2001; DeVortez, 1995; Hiebert, 1999; Galabuzi, 2001; Grant, 1999; Green & Green, 1999; Picot & Hou, 2003 to name a few). Most of such research have focused on migrants' earnings as an objective indicator of their overall integration and have assumed that other components of integration such as the political, cultural, and social emanate from the economic integration (Potter, 1999).

The available evidence indicates that the state of the society's economy, its labour market, and its social class system plays a major part in social incorporation of diverse ethnicities into the broader society. According to Isajiw (1997: 6), social incorporation of diverse ethnic groups is often reinforced by existing socio-economic structures, which are constructed and reliant on inequitable distribution of opportunities (For details refer to 2.3.2). Although the importance of the objective indicators of labour market inequality have been widely recognised within the literature, migrants' subjective assessment of their level of integration has been greatly disregarded. According to Adelman (2001: 10), even though subjective and objective measures of economic success are important aspects of integration process, they are not necessarily highly correlated. In fact evidence indicates that migrants are integrated when they are able to fully participate in the entire spectrum of Canadian society rather than merely economically.

2.4.2 Psychological Adaptation

In an attempt to establish a working model of the integration process, psychological literature refers to Berry *et al.* (1987) who led the way in conceptualisation of the relationship between '*acculturation*'— changes and consequences that arise for the individual when coming in continuous contact with another culture, and stress. Berry (2006) formulated an '*Acculturation Strategies Framework*' representing a general model of integration process [For details of the framework refer to Appendix 2]. It is commonly acknowledged that whilst adjusting to new culture migrants often have trouble during and after relocation to another country or culture. Such adjustment may cause significant distress for migrants; a situation commonly referred to as "*acculturative stress*", which is inversely related to the psychological and physical well-being (Berry, 1992, 1997, 1998; Berry & Kim, 1988; Berry *et al.* 1987, Berry *et al.*, 1992).

According to Kosic (2004), there are four types of acculturative stress experienced by migrants: *"Economic (e.g. difficulty finding suitable employment, sufficient income, and adequate housing); Social (e.g. encountering negative attitudes and behaviours, and coping with a different value system); Psychological (e.g. loneliness, depression, and coping with past and present traumas), and even Physical (e.g. being a victim of crime or physical attack)."*

Acculturative stress may manifest in the form of depression (because of culture loss) or anxiety (because of existing or future uncertainties). However, to date little attempt has been made to analyse the way in which the above-mentioned factors relate to acculturative stress. Moreover, there are no integrative models that would take into account the different variables and analyse the causal relationships (*Ibid.*). In 1996, Aycan and Berry formulated a framework for the analysis of factors contributing to migrants' experience of acculturation and called it *"Acculturative Framework"* (1996: 241). According to this framework, economic circumstances often raised by employment difficulties were found to have a major impact on migrants' psychological well-being, which in turn were found to increase adaptation difficulties [For details of the framework refer to Appendix 3]. Moreover, according to Feather (1990) acculturative stress has been associated with negative self-concept as well as alienation from the society (Guthrie & Tanco, 1980), which has been found to lead to adaptation difficulties.

Studies on migrants' acculturation emphasise the significance of a great number of factors which may be broadly divided into two groups: a) features of the original and host society (*i.e.* cultural, economic, political, and social) and b) individual characteristics involving:

- Demographic variables (*e.g.* age, gender, marital status, level of education, length of sojourn, immigration class, *etc.*) [Beiser, Barwick & Berry, 1988; Beiser, Johnoson & Turner, 1993; Carballo, 1994; Rogler, 1994]
- Characteristics of the personality (*e.g.* self-esteem and locus of control, *etc.*) [Ward & Kennedy, 1993], and

- Socio-cognitive and motivational factors (*e.g.* coping strategies, acculturation strategies, and social support, *etc.*) [Berry, 1997; Zheng & Berry, 1991]

Research in a wide range of social science and health fields has suggested that although the experience of migration itself does not inevitably produce mental illness (Beiser, 1999; Hyman *et al.*, 1996). It is in fact the multiple processes of dislocation, movement, and resettlement tend to put some migrants at risk of developing emotional problems (Desjarlais *et al.*, 1995; Losaria-Barwick, 1992). According to Gilbert (1998), depression amongst migrants may be understood through the psychoanalytic concept of loss and melancholia, whereby loss of specific objects, complicated by loss of status and social support, changes to patterns of attachment as well as loss of significant relationships may encourage a sense of bereavement and grief.

Rogler (1994) asserts that demographic variables such as age and gender influence the extent to which migrants experience acculturative stress. He emphasises how being young and male means easier and smoother cultural adaptation. Although the reason why gender relates to acculturative stress is still ambiguous, Rogler suggests it might reflect the fact that women in the family typically have less influence or control over the decision, timing, and circumstances of emigration than men do. In addition, he asserts that education and knowledge of the dominant language in the host society are also associated with lower stress. He assumes that both factors reflect increased ability to cope in a new cultural setting. However, according to Rogler, refugees (especially those fleeing political or military persecution) experience more acculturative stress and mental health problems (*e.g.*, post-traumatic stress disorder) than immigrants do. His results also indicated that owing to the readily available social support network migrants sponsored by family members or religious groups possess in the host country they were less likely to experience acculturative stress.

More recently, Shuval (2000: 198) explicitly explains how social construction of age within the context of migration influences integration process. She highlights how professionals who in any other context would be considered in the height of their professional careers at age 45 or 50 are socially defined as too old to be professionally

retrained and employable. According to her in Canada, the most employable are individuals under 40 yrs of age.

Chen *et al.* (1995) and Dunn and Dyck (2000) highlight that migrants' social and economic position in the country of origin, their social and economic circumstances after migration, plus length of residency in Canada influences their general well being. Studies have demonstrated that mental health problems are more prevalent among socially and economically disadvantaged groups (*i.e.* individuals with low social class and education, racialised nationals, and recent migrants) who are known to experience more stress (Beiser *et al.*, 1999; Dunn & Dyck, 2000; Matuk, 1996). Nevertheless, in accordance with Taylor (1995) factors within the host society, such as hostile attitudes towards migrants, lack of sufficient employment opportunities, and genuine structural incorporation equally heighten migrants' acculturative stress.

Most of the relevant literature on integration refers to the evidence that one of the most important elements for the successful inclusion of migrants into Canadian society is participation within the labour market (Adelman, 2001; Neuwirth, 1999; Thomas, 1990). According to Aycan and Berry (1996: 240), although employment problems are considered to engender similar outcomes for every individual in society, two main factors particularly distinguish experiences of migrants from those of the native-born population. Firstly, because of systemic and structural barriers in Canada (which will be discussed later in section 2.5) migrants are less likely to find employment at the level for which their education and training has prepared them. Secondly, their inability to integrate within the labour force often results in psychological as well as adaptation difficulties.

Furthermore, Richmond (1974: 47) considers employment status as an important factor in understanding how migrants feel about their lives in Canada. He deemed that migrants' failure to obtain steady employment at a level commiserating their qualifications increased their feelings of social isolation and alienation and even generated deep-seated dissatisfaction with life in Canada. As a result, he concluded that migrants' employment status was an important factor in understanding how they felt

about their lives in Canada. Guthrie and Tanco (1980: 52-53) theorise that migrants encounter social alienation when they experience disparity between the desired state, which the society values as the norm (*e.g.*, having a decent job) and the achieved state (*e.g.*, experiencing unemployment or underemployment). According to Kanungo (1979), alienation is characterised by a failure to meet the societal norms and expectations.

Literature referring to psychological and social costs of unemployment and or underemployment amongst migrants generally refers to five categories of consequences:

i) Integration difficulties (*i.e.* social isolation, alienation, and apathy) [Aycan & Berry 1996; Guthrie & Tanco, 1980; O'Connor, 2003]

ii) Economic deprivation (*i.e.* changes to living standards/quality of life[44], deprivation of material necessities, loss of freedom in the market place, and reduced satisfaction with life) [Basran & Zong, 1998; Hiebert, 1997; Lo *et al.*, 2000; Mata, & Pendakur, 1998]

iii) Loss of status (*i.e.* reduced self-concept and self-worth, loss of social identity and occupational status and experience lower expectations) [Aycan & Berry 1996; Gilbert & Allan, 1998; Graetz, 1993; Naidoo, 1992]

iv) Physical and mental well-being (*i.e.* poor sleep, fatigue, lack of concentration, decreased functioning and irritability, stress, depression, de-motivation, low self esteem, and general helplessness) [Beiser, 1999; Freire, 1995; Graetz, 1993; Murphy & Athanasou, 1999; Valent, 2001; Waters & Moore, 2001; Winefield, 1995], and

v) Social relationships (*i.e.* impacts on marriage, family, and reduced social contacts and social network) [Guthrie & Tanco, 1980; Naidoo, 1992; Nordenmark, 1999; Richmond, 1974; Valent, 2001].

The majority of literature on employment and well-being illustrates that depressive effect of unemployment is the most frequently studied psychological variable for unemployed people. Research on various groups such as Mexican (Golding & Burnam, 1990), South Indian (Naidoo, 1992), and Korean immigrants (Hurh & Kim, 1990) indicate that work-related problems and low socio-economic status are associated with

[44] Living standards refers to changes in spending power, comfort level (having luxury, vacation) and living conditions (*i.e.* housing standards, changes in neighbourhood and amenities available).

depressive symptoms like loss of hope, negative self-concept, and stress. These researches claim that without appropriate and remunerative work, migrants become preoccupied with questions of survival and may experience social status[45] loss that may also have long-term consequences in terms of class and general social positioning of their children in the host country (Neuwirth, 1999). Consequently, it is supposed that often post-migration to Canada migrants encounter difficulties in leading lives with dignity and self-respect.

Waters and Moore (2001: 462) highlight that although employment is acknowledged to endow individuals with purpose, status, income, social contact, structure to their days and lives, and provide a sense of belonging; there has been little attempt within the literature to understand how the unemployed cope with economic deprivation and the resulting psychological impact of such deprivation. For this reason, their study investigated the moderating role of coping on the relationship between economic deprivation and psychological health during unemployment. Waters and Moore established that unemployed participants reported higher depressive affect and lower levels of self-esteem than employed people. They asserted that during unemployment the economic deprivation of material necessities played a factor in fostering perceptions of general helplessness and a loss of freedom in the market place. As a result, this predisposed individuals to significantly higher levels of depression and lower levels of self-esteem (P. 478).

Naidoo (1992) emphasises that individuals who are accepted as immigrants to Canada on the basis of their qualifications, education, and skills are notably more prone to lose their feelings of self-worth when faced with difficulties in finding employment in Canada. According to '*Occupational Status Persistence*' hypothesis (Bernstein, 2000), migrants' success in resuming their former occupation, particularly for professionals, is the most prominent component of their self-identity.

[45] Hunter (1981: 99-100) describes status as "[...] *Evaluative judgements, which people make of one another and of one another's attributes, such as education, occupation, and income. As a result, social status is the evaluative judgement people make of one another as worthy human beings*".

Evidence indicates that migration often increases the importance of professional identity for migrants (Bernstein, 2000 and Shuval, 2000). According to Bernstein (2000), maintaining occupational status within the host society is particularly important for the psychological well being of FTP migrants more than other migrant groups because a professional's work role is the most salient component in the hierarchy of social roles that form their self-identity. Shuval (2000: 192) stresses that when a social role is valued because of its high salience to the individual and its status in the culture, an individual is more likely to resist or resent abandoning that social role. Therefore, occupational continuity is very important for the FTP migrants not only because it provides the migrant with an income, but also because it gives them a base to preserve their self-identity when there is a need to deal with a wide range of physical, social, and psychological stressors.

While researching former Soviet Union physicians' self-evaluation of their profession in Israel, Judith Bernstein (2000: 189) found that after migration these migrants' work role served as key determinants of their overall adjustment and well-being. Her results demonstrated that those who passed the medical licensure examination and managed to obtain work in their profession had significantly higher scores on measures of self-assessed health, self-esteem, mood, work satisfaction, and general satisfaction with life than those who were not working as physicians (P.184). She claimed that this was because one's occupation has a positive influence on their sense of self-identity. Moreover, from the analysis of responses of those who held 'satisfying' as opposed to 'dissatisfying' jobs Graetz (1993) found that the health consequences of employment and unemployment were directly contingent on the value the individuals attached to the quality of the work they were engaged in. He noted that generally the benefits of employment were confined to those who managed to find a satisfying job. In contrast, those who did not were found to have higher levels of various health disorders (P.91). However, the adverse consequences of job loss were commonly confined to those who were satisfied with their former jobs. Given this, one can postulate that in addition to economic incentives, there are psychosocial benefits to employment.

According to Beaujot and Pappak (1988) and Thomas (1992), regaining original occupational status and achieving upward mobility in Canada is especially problematic for racialised migrants. They assert that interruptions to employment bring: i) obvious losses of income during the period of unemployment, ii) lower subsequent earnings, iii), causes a longer-term psychological scar through the increased future incidence of unemployment, and iv) even a drift into economic inactivity. Moreover, Arulampalam, Gregg, and Gregory (2001) emphasise that repeated failure to find employment often generates lower expectations, which in turn may reduce motivation and hinder actual efforts to search for work. The resulting effects are particularly damaging for racialised migrants because they reinforce a lifetime of inequality and increase chances of experiencing poverty and social exclusion. According to Smith and Jackson (2002: 2), poverty in Canada is defined as falling below the pre-tax "*Low Income Cut-off*" (LICO). *Canadian Council on Social Development's* (CCSD, 2000) report on urban poverty in Canada identified 52.1% rate of poverty among migrants who had arrived in Canadian cities after 1991. Based on analysis of 1996 Census data, Ornstein (2000) reveals that non-European groups in Toronto are burdened with family poverty rates at twice the levels of families of European and Canadian origin. For some groups such as Latin Americans, African Blacks and Caribbean, and Arabs and West Asians the rate is more than 40%, or roughly three times higher. Moreover, accounts in the popular press are more evidence to this effect and reveal a dramatic increase in the use of food banks by highly educated newcomers (Quinn, 2002).

2.4.3 Socio-cultural Adaptation

Socio-cultural adaptation entails the individual's ability to manage everyday social situations and comprises of both cultural and structural level of integration (Searle & Ward, 1990). It involves learning the culturally appropriate social skills to interact with the new culture in order to effectively execute daily tasks (Ward *et al.*, 2001; Ward &

Kennedy, 1994). Empirical evidence indicates that there is a sequence, although not purely linear, to the integration process. The sequence comprises of going back and forth between different types of social integration[46], or between different aspects of it. For instance, Milton Gordon (1964) assumed that cultural integration proceeds structural.

Although in the past three decades socio-cultural integration in Canada has generally been stimulated by the multiculturalism policy (Refer to section 2.3.2 for details), the mainstream 'white Anglo-European' population have retained influence over societal culture and institutional structure. They have done so predominantly through a belief rooted in an early notion of Canada as a "*white man's country*" (Adelman, 2001: 8; Fleras, 2001; Goldberg, 1994) [refer to section 2.3.3 for details]. Fleras (2001: 78) draws attention to how Canada's institutional structures or operational procedures are neither neutral nor innocent of intent and consequence. He highlights how it embodies the values, needs, perspectives, and experiences of those in charge, often to the detriment of those on the margins. In view of this, evidence indicates that mainstream Canadians have continued possessing ambivalent attitudes towards immigration and immigrants and refugees are perceived as posing fundamental socio-cultural and identity; in other words symbolic as well as economic or material threats to Canada (Berry, 1992; Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998; Esses *et al.*, 1999, 2001; Fleras, 2001; Sherif, 1966, Stephen & Stephen, 2000).

Fleras (2001: 78) hypothesises that the current stereotypes and differential treatment of migrants and racialised groups has its origins in the inherent unequal relations in Canada. He asserts that evidence indicates that the existing discrimination is in spite of these individuals' ability or merit is predominantly founded on irrelevant characteristics such as skin colour or lifestyle preference. Nevertheless, such discrimination not only has had a major impact on this population's treatment within the broader society but also has had an effect on the social opportunities offered to them for integration.

---

[46] It ought to be noted that incorporation here does not assume that migrants instantly become part of a larger whole on equal or equitable basis with everybody else in the host country.

Sherif's (1966) '*Realistic Group Conflict Theory*' and Tajfel, and Turner's (1979) '*Social Identity Theory*' may be used to understand the socio-cultural dynamics in Canada. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), 'Social Identity Theory' explains how in an attempt to achieve and maintain group distinctiveness societies often differentiate their population through social construction of '*in*' and *'out'* groups, thus limiting opportunities of other groups and their members. Whilst, the 'Realistic Group Conflict Theory' posits that perceived group competition for resources encourages reduction of access of '*other*' groups (for instance immigrants and refugees) to valued resources. Moreover, studies have indicated that unfavourable attitudes toward migrants and immigration often arise from a fear of loss of social status and power (Driedger & Halli, 2000; Driedger & Reid, 2000; Peak & Ray 2001). For instance, Esses *et al.*'s (2001) research concluded that members of the well-established dominant groups prefer a hierarchical structure within the society and often hold unfavourable attitudes toward immigration and migrants because of a perceived sense of threat to their position in society.

However, Reitz (2002: 14) asserts these economic and power elites often do not overtly oppose immigration therefore support racially neutral immigration policies because of the political correctness expected of them through imposed sanctions. It may be hypothesised that it is such inclination that has restricted anti-immigration discourse to the political margins in Canada. According to Fleras (2001: 72), because of the above phenomena, the educated population in Canada have particularly become more adept at practising racism in a polite and submissive manner and are more likely to camouflage dislike toward others through coded expressions.

Evidence indicates that although blatant racism does still occur in Canada, the most frequent observed forms of racism is subtle and systemic (Galabuzi, 2001; Henry & Tator, 1997; Henry *et al.* 1995; Kallen, 2003; Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2001). Fleras (2001: 89) articulates that the subtlety of this type of racism makes it difficult to confront, let alone eradicate [through multiculturalism or any other policy like it].

2.4.4 Economic Adaptation

Evidence has not revealed why current migrants are experiencing less labour market success than migrants who entered Canada up to 1970s. Nevertheless, evidence has revealed that several factors contribute to the phenomenon:

- Economic environment of the 1990s [Jackson & Robinson, 2000; Portes & Zhou, 1999]

- Absorptive capacity of the labour market (*i.e.* economic environment, credentials recognition, language ability, *etc.*) [Alboim, 2002; Green & Green, 1999, Green & Worswick, 2002; Janzen, Gogic & Lymburner, 2003; Hiebert, 1999; O'Conner, 2003; Picot & Heisz, 1999, Picot & Hou, 2003, 2005; Smith & Jackson, 2002]

- Changing nature of the job market (*i.e.* free trade agreements, technological advances, decreased hiring rate, increased job tenure, *etc.*) [Boyd, 2005; Bloom, Grenier & Gunderson, 1995; Ferrer & Riddell, 2002; Hiebert, 1997; Janzen, Gogic & Lymburner, 2003; Lochhead, 2003; Meta & Pendakur, 1998; Picot & Heisz, 1999; Richmond , 1992; Sangster, 2001]. Contemporary selection and admission processes have been severely criticised for operating too slowly to respond to the rapid changes in the Canadian labour market. ECC (1991) claims that during the migrant selection time, rapid changes in the economic market can emerge which could alter the need for immigrants with certain skills, which may result in post-migration unemployment or underemployment.

- Changing policy environment (*i.e.* immigration and labour market) [Boyd & Thomas, 2001; Boyd & Vickers, 2000; CIC, 1998; 2001; Green & Green, 2000; Janzen & Lymburner, 2003; Pendakur, 2000; Reitz, 2002]

- Different countries of origin (*i.e.* credentials recognition, fewer ethnic 'networks', language challenges, *etc.*) [Bloom & Grant, 2001; Cornish, McIntyre & Pask, 2001; Erickson, 1996; Lai, Lin & Leung, 1998; Mata, 1999; Menjivar, 1995; Watt & Bloom, 2001; Wellman, 1999]

- Discrimination [Galabuzi, 2001; Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2001; Peak & Ray, 2001]

There are two approaches taken within these literatures. One primarily focuses on structural barriers, which portray institutions as operating as gatekeepers to

disadvantage FTP migrants through failure to recognise their credentials (Salaff, Greve & Ping, 2001). These studies commonly suggest that control of entry to the profession has caused systematic exclusion and occupational disadvantages for FTP migrants. Studies into structural barriers predominantly focus on policies, regulations, procedures, and concentrate on specific components of the accreditation process (Associates of Canada, 1987; Task Force on Access to Professions and Trades in Ontario, 1989; Alberta Task Force on the Recognition of Foreign Qualifications, 1992; Manitoba Working Group on Immigrant Credentials, 1992; and Employment and Immigration Canada, 1993). Access to information on accreditation procedures, agencies involved in the assessment, and the nature of the evaluation itself are some of the key themes that have been studied structurally.

The second approach focuses on the experiences of FTP migrants (Basaran & Zong, 1998; Smith & Jackson, 2002). According to Zong (2004: 2), current research often fails to locate individual barriers within Canadian social context and structural arguments appear to blame FTP migrants for failing to acquire professional jobs in Canada.

Evidence indicates that the economic context into which FTP migrants arrive is vital to their successful inclusion (Green, 1999; Jackson & Robinson, 2000; Portes & Zhou, 1999). For instance, according to Jackson and Robinson (2000) the high unemployment rates from 1990 to 1993 and the slow economic growth until the last half of the decade in Canada influenced new migrants' opportunities in finding steady well-paid jobs. It was not until 1998 that the number of full-time paid jobs that had existed in 1989 was finally regained. However, the new job opportunities over this period came in the form of self-employment and part-time jobs, and there was almost no new hiring in the larger private and public sector workplaces, which have a propensity for offering more stable and progressive career ladders. Thus, during this period the new entrants into the job market (including new migrants) had to compete for the more precarious and lower-paying jobs in smaller firms.

According to Neuwirth (1999), migrants' economic adaptation is associated with their immediate need to earn a living during the first phase of integration. Accordingly, he

deems that migrants who are unemployed or otherwise marginalized within the labour market typically lack the essential institutional support needed to fully integrate within the host society.

In analysing the determinants of migrants' integration success in the host country, researchers have focused on the importance of human capital characteristics [*i.e.* level of education, credential, skills, and work experience] (Akbari, 1999; Finnie & Meng, 2002; Friedberg, 2000; Potter, 1999, Reitz, 2001d). In these studies, human capital resources are seen to be extremely important in achieving economic integration and in accessing the mainstream labour market in particular. The importance of human capital characteristics is as well reflected in the Canadian immigration policy and the points system, and is supported by previous research pointing to the relative success of well-educated and highly skilled migrants.

Whilst considering migrants' integration, Potter (1999) asserts that human capital resources are indirectly linked to cultural integration. She hypothesises that the educated migrants possess more "*Western values*" (in other words Western cultural resources), that make it easier for them to adopt specific Canadian/Western behaviour and attitude, which facilitates their cultural integration. Highly skilled and educated migrants are also more likely to be employed in the mainstream economy, which aids their structural (social and political) integration (*Ibid.*). However, as mentioned previously (section 2.4.1) understanding the role of human capital characteristics although essential, is not the only factor influencing migrants' achievement of various integration goals within the host country. In an attempt to fully understand integration process, recent sociological studies have expanded the notion of migrant resources beyond the human capital and have determined the relative utility of already mentioned cultural, psychological, and social resources (Bauder & Cameron, 2002; Isajiw, 1997; Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Ooka & Wellman, 2000; Searle & Ward, 1990; Teixeira, 1998; Thomas, 1992).

Generally, employees' human capital resources are subject to employers' interpretation within the labour market. Since Canada has a decentralised accreditation system

wherein professions set the standard for suitable employees, fair recognition of accreditation has become pertinent to FTP migrants. Although the accreditation process ought to be objective, national employment procedures and standards are in fact socially constructed. According to Salaff, Greve, and Ping (2001), Canadian employers are risk averse and lack confidence in foreign educational qualifications. They have an imperfect knowledge of foreign credentials and human capital, the quality of the training, regulatory bodies, academic institutions, education and training, technological and professional standards; in other words conditions outside their usual labour market. Therefore, foreign credentials are not given full compensation, even when foreign learning is supported by a credential document and the Canadian learning is not. This has resulted in underutilisation of migrants' human capital (Basaran & Zong, 1998; Bauder, 2003; Bloom & Grant, 2001; Department of Canadian Heritage, 2002; Ferrer & Riddell, 2002; Friedberg, 2000; Hajdukowski-Ahmd, Maraj & Dabrowski-Chudyk, 2000; Kunz *et al.*, 2001; Li, 2001; McDade, 1988; Watt & Bloom, 2001).

Employers within the Canadian labour market tend to prefer hiring Canadian-educated individuals because they suppose that the Canadian earned degree enables them to: i) better assess the prospect of what the employees is capable of; ii) determine suitable salary; iii) perceived as representing familiarity with the culture and an insight into labour force resources and practices, and iv) expect a certain standard of work and etiquette. In view of the above, the entry barriers migrants experience in Canada may be seen as an outcome of systemic exclusion of foreign human capital (Erickson, 1996; Haggerty & Johnson, 1995; Salaff, Greve & Ping, 2001). As national wealth increasingly relies on the skills of a country's workforce, this raises the question of how Canada could efficiently use the human capital of arriving migrants, a point highlighted through empirical evidence within this study.

Of all the problems migrants encounter after arrival in the host country, the vocational barriers have been recognised as the most important. The 1988 Report of the *Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues* singled out the barriers to trades and professions as major factors leading to migrants' erosion of skills, loss of technical idiom, and diminishing confidence. Because of difficulties encountered in securing regular

employment at a level consistent with their aptitude, migrants in Canada often have no choice but to accept jobs with low pay and low status, which local inhabitants would not aspire to take. According to Schellenberg (2004: 47), recent immigrants have lower employment and higher unemployment rates than Canadian-born. They are less likely to work full-year and full-time, and in some CMAs they are more likely to be self-employed than Canadian-born individuals. He found that for both recent immigrants and the Canadian-born, self-employment was generally more prevalent among men than women, and among persons in older age groups.

According to *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 27), analysis of LSIC 2001, 44% of new migrants found work six months after arrival to Canada. Of the newcomers who had found jobs 79% worked full-time and the rest, 21% worked part-time. Immigrants in the prime working-age group of 25 to 44 years had the highest employment rate. Half of those in this age group were employed six months after landing, compared with 36% of those aged 15 to 24 years and 35% of those aged 45 to 64 years. Economic-class principal applicants had the highest employment rate at 59%, compared with 39% of the family class and 21% in the refugee class.

Table 2 adopted from LSIC (2001) shows labour force activities of immigrants 25 to 44 yrs old. According to the labour participation rate[47] for main applicants within the economic class was 90.9%, 62.1% for spouses and dependents, 75.1% family class, and 48.7% for refugees whilst the employment rate[48] of main applicants within the economic class was 60.3% of which 36.1% were for spouses and dependents, 51.4% family class, and 24.9% for refugees (*Statistics Canada*: 2003b: 29). The table also highlights the gap in participation rate and employment rate based on region of birth with USA, Europe, and Oceania having lower difference than racialised migrants

---

[47] According to LSIC (2001), the term refers to the number of immigrants in the labour force (employed or unemployed) in the reference period (between October 2000 and September 2001) expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older included in the LSIC. The participation rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, *etc.*) is the labour force in that group, expressed as a percentage of the total population 15 years of age and over, in that group [LSIC (2001: 29), http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/tables/table4.htm, accessed date 12/10/05).

[48] According to LSIC (2001), the term refers to the number of immigrants employed in the reference period (between October 2000 and September 2001) expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older. The employment rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, *etc.*) is the number employed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over in that group [LSIC (2001: 29) (http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/tables/table4.htm, accessed date 12/10/05].

namely those from Central and south America/Caribbean, Africa, and Asia and middle East.

Table 2: Labour Force Activities of Immigrants 25 to 44 yrs old, 2001

Region of Birth		Participation Rate (%)	Employment Rate (%)
USA		83.4	75.4
Europe		79.7	56.4
Central and South America/Caribbean		77.7	51.3
Africa		80.0	37.9
Asia & Middle East		76.5	49.3
Oceania and other regions		91.4	78.4
Class of Immigration			
Economic	Principal Applicant	90.9	60.3
	Spouses and Dependents	62.1	36.1
Family		75.1	51.4
Refugees		48.7	24.9

Source: Adapted from *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 29) analysis of LSIC 2001, http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/tables/table4.htm, accessed date 12/10/05) [For original table refer to Appendix 14].

Out of the economic class, 42.3% of principle applicant had difficulties accessing education and training while 41.4% of spouse and dependents had similar difficulties, Family class 34.9%, and 30.5% of refugees. Whilst 75.5% of principal applicants had difficulty entering the labour market, 74.7% of Spouse and dependents, Family 56.6%, and refugees 67.5% [Refer to Appendix 17].

Research evidence suggests there are five structural barriers in Canada that delay FTP migrants' integration into the work force. These factors influenced the fieldwork framework. Firstly, the problem with recognition of occupational accreditation and education affects the FTP migrants' ability to find jobs in Canada at the level for which their education and training has prepared them. Because of the barriers FTP migrants experience with the recognition of their foreign qualification, they often perceive self-regulating organisations as gatekeepers. After taking into account FTP migrants' opinions on how foreign education is evaluated in Canada, Basran and Zong (1998: 12) pointed out that over 50% of respondents in their study reported that their foreign

education was not fairly recognised by provincial government agencies, professional organisations, and educational institutions. Secondly, there are structural flaws such as unfair employment interviews, narrow channels of recruitment, misconceptions of job candidates or job stereotypes and exclusive policies set up by employee organisations and trade unions (McDade, 1988: 10-19). Thirdly, most of the language courses offered by official government do not concentrate on technical language that would allow proficiency in the workplace (Thomas, 1992). Finally, most protected professions (*i.e.* medicine, engineering, teaching, *etc.*) are tightly organised and exclusive. These professions require Canadian work experience as the final step in the certification process. This is the most difficult barrier for FTP migrants to overcome.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The principal objective of this chapter was to generally draw attention to the complexity of the interaction between immigration and integration and to highlight the multi-faceted nature of both processes. In an attempt to achieve this, the chapter commenced with general discussions of '*macro*', '*meso*', and '*micro*' analytical dynamics, which shape international migration. It explicitly established the micro analytical focus and the main intention of the thesis to decode subjective immigration and integration experiences of FTP migrants.

In view of determining the interrelationship between 'structure' and 'agency' within migration process, the analysis focused on international movement of the knowledge economy and the part Canada plays within this phenomenon. Considering these debates, I generally analysed FTP migrants' motivations to migrate internationally and particularly explored what inimitably interests this category of migrants to move to Canada.

The chapter proceeded with identification and contextualisation of the key forces underpinning Canadian immigration and integration context. It established the key themes of the thesis and emphasised how both processes are rooted in Canada's migration history, notions of citizenship, and are influenced by national ideological, socio-cultural, and structural approach to management of diversity.

The review conceptualised integration process and drew attention to psychological, socio-cultural, and economic aspects of the process. These debates highlighted the significance of economic adaptation in determining migrants' overall integration within the host society.

In view of the above, the following chapter particularly explores the top three barriers FTP migrants encounter these barriers whilst attempting to gain access to their respective professions in Canada, namely recognition of education and occupational accreditation, recognition of professional work experience, and systemic lack of profession-specific and technical upgrading. The chapter will draw attention to lack of policies, legislations, structural gaps, and institutional regulations and practices influencing migrants' economic integration.

CHAPTER 3

MIGRANTS' INTEGRATION IN CANADA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter portrays the extent to which FTP migrants become integrated within the Canadian society. It explores evidence regarding the types of inequalities identified within the labour market and assesses to what extent these barriers are reflected in and influence FTP migrants' integration experience. More specifically, the chapter explores the various measures FTP migrants take in order to regain access to their profession in Canada.

The chapter draws attention to the existing institutional barriers and to integration needs that are not systemically being met. It sheds light on the partiality of some of the current theories and assumptions underlying the quantitative analysis of migration and integration in Canada.

3.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING FTP MIGRANTS' ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Clear understanding of the factors that contribute to FTP migrants' integration is impossible without understanding Canada's socio-demographic circumstance. Thus far, according to Statistics Canada (2003: 5) three key factors have shaped Canada's workforce:

i) Demand for skills in the face of advancing technologies and the 'knowledge-based economy'

ii) Working-age population that is increasingly made up of older people, and

iii) Growing reliance on immigration as a source of skills and labour force growth

Canada's demand for skills is evident in the data from the 2001 Census (*Statistics Canada*, 2003d: 5). Between 1991 and 2001, the number of people in the labour force increased by 1.3 million. Almost one-half of this growth occurred in highly skilled occupations that normally require university qualifications.[49] At the same time, the workforce has become much 'greyer', in other words older. The average age of the labour force has risen from 37.1 years in 1991 to 39.0 years in 2001. By 2011, it is expected that almost one fifth of the '*baby-boom generation*'[50] will be at least 61 years of age; therefore, there are potentials for shortages in certain occupations (particularly in nursing and teaching). In addition, rates of fertility have remained at low levels for the past 30 years. As a result, fewer young people are entering the working-age population to replace individuals in the age group nearing retirement.[51] Consequently, Canada has increasingly turned to immigration as a source of skills and knowledge. Census data shows that immigrants, who landed in Canada during the 1990s and were in the labour force in 2001, represented almost 70% of the total growth of the labour force over the decade. If current immigration rates continue, it is possible that immigration could account for virtually all net labour force growth by 2011 and 2016 (*Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat*, 2005) [52]. In view of the above, it is clear that immigration arrival contributes to Canada's economic growth; this reinforces the importance of adequate policies and strategies on integration.

---

[49] Low-skilled occupations require high school or less account for only a quarter of the labour force increase.

[50] In Canada, demographers define baby-boom generation as the generation born from 1947 to 1966. It refers to a generation after 1947 when Canadian servicemen's repatriation occurred and resulted in sudden rise of birth rate.

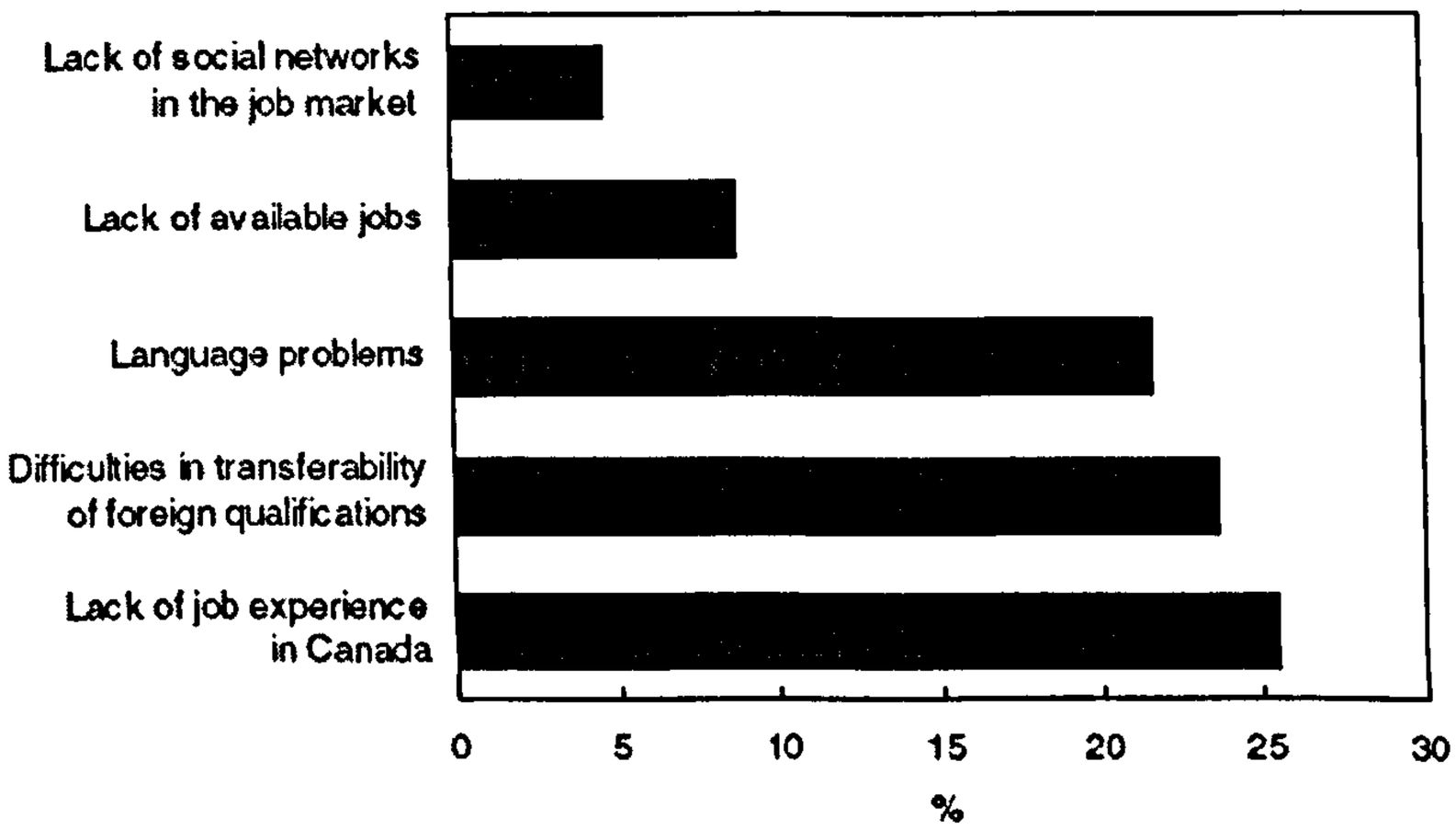
[51] In 2001, there were 2.7, 20 to 34 in the labour force for every participant aged 55 and over, this is down from a ratio of 3.7 in 1981 (*Statistics Canada*, 2003d: 5).

[52] http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/report/govrev/05/cp-rc04_e.asp.

Currently, there is a continual debate about the relative economic success of migrants who enter Canada under the '*Independent Class*' category. However, there is limited information on the relative economic success of migrants by class of immigration and the public debate particularly has remained largely based on anecdotal evidence as opposed to more objective, research-based information. As a result, progress in identifying and meeting social service needs of FTP migrants has been slow; which in turn has limited Canadian governments' ability to address the structural inequalities.

With the profound change in Canada's demographics, migrants have increasingly faced barriers to their full participation in the economy. Statistics Canada's analysis of LSIC 2001 (Figure 5) identifies the most serious difficulties recent migrants experienced when entering the labour force (*Statistics Canada*, 2003b: 34).

Figure 4: The Most Serious Difficulties Immigrants Experienced When Entering the Labour Force, 2001



Source: *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 34) analysis of LSIC 2001, http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/89-611-xie2003001.pdf, accessed date 10/08/05).

Mclean (2003: 13) [53] provides detailed accounts of the integration barriers FTP migrants' experience. He draws attention to administrative barriers such as: the lack of government policy coordination between the different levels of government and also

[53] "Looking Backwards, Looking Forwards- Outcomes of IEP Conference" held in Toronto, Canada, *Internationally Educated Professionals, "Breaking Barriers Building Bridges"*, February 20, 2003 (http://ttb.on.ca/downloads/IEPReport-final.pdf , accessed date 10/01/07).

government departments that have an involvement in immigration and integration issues; complicated jurisdictional issues between federal, provincial and municipal levels of responsibility; lack of central coordinating agency for the 38 regulated professions[54], 20 mandatory trades and 34 voluntary trades; absence of recognised accountability requirements for regulatory bodies, and gaps in employment support services to migrants (*i.e.* inadequate provision of upgrading opportunities and insufficient financial support to facilitate it; general lack of profession-specific and technical language training[55]; lack of fast-track upgrading to meet the gaps within migrants' professional skills, and barriers to obtaining highly valued Canadian work experience).

Institutional barriers such as: absence of recognised accountability requirements for regulatory bodies; gate keeping by professional associations and regulatory bodies through unfair practices and narrow channels of recruitment (*i.e.* exclusive policies set by organisations and trade unions); requests for unnecessary training and upgrading for certain professions; inadequate recognition of credentials, education, and previous work experience, and costly licensing fees and unfair examinations (*i.e.* non-ability oriented, culturally biased, and unfair administration of occupation-specific screening devices and certification exams). Lastly, immigrants' unfamiliarity with Canadian culture and the underlying racism and discrimination in Canada.

As mentioned in Chapter one, research into the integration experiences of migrants demonstrates that once they are in Canada it is very difficult for them to regain original status (status within their country of origin) and achieve upward economic mobility like their Canadian counterparts (Mojab, 1999). In fact, "*Entrance Status Theory*" (Darroch,

---

[54] Regulated occupations are professions and trades controlled by provincial, territorial and sometimes federal law and governed by a professional organisation or regulatory body. These regulatory bodies set entry requirements and standards of practice, assess applicants' qualifications and credentials, certify, register, and license qualified applicants, and discipline members. In Canada, to work in a regulated occupation and to use a regulated title, an individual must have a license or certificate or be registered with the regulatory body for their occupation (Watt & Bloom, 2001: 44). For information on Canada's regulated professions refer to http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/general/postsec/openingdoors/apt/reguont.html.

[55] Evidence shows that specialised courses concentrating on the terminology of specific professions have reduced underemployment among FTP migrants who were engineers, nurses, and other professionals in Australia (Hawthorne, 2000).

1979; Lautard & Guppy, 1990) highlights that migrants' industry location within the host society is often a product of their post-migration entrance status or position within the labour force. The limited occupational choice available to migrants generally coerces them into particular occupations, branches of industry, and earning brackets. The proponents assume that this phenomenon has contributed to reinforcement and maintenance of stratified labour force in Canada. Moreover, evidence indicates that migrants who start in a particular industry sector tend to remain in that sector because the skill sets and work experience they gain in what is mostly low-skilled survival jobs are not transferable and of value within their own profession.

Through analysis of the 1991 and 1996 Canadian census data, Thopmson (2000: 7) evaluated the evidence of underutilisation of migrants' skills known as the '*taxi driver phenomenon*'. While using native-born residents as a reference group, Thompson compared occupational skill distributions found among migrants from different regions of origin. The data obtained indicated that there were correlations between education and region of origin, period of immigration, and the likelihood of certain FTP migrants being employed in highly skilled employment, particularly for more recent cohorts.

Moreover, Basran and Zong (1998: 11) conducted a survey exploring experiences and perceptions of foreign-trained Indo and Chinese-Canadian migrants in Vancouver in 1997. They found that 88% of 404 respondents reported having worked as professionals (*i.e.* doctors, engineers, school/university teachers, *etc.*) in their country of origin; however, only 18.8% of them said that they were working or had worked as professionals in Canada. Although 17.4% of the respondents became proprietors, managers, supervisors, and administrators in Canada, 54.4% of them had lower social status in non-professional jobs, and 9.4% had never worked in Canada. In total, 73% of the FTP migrants experienced downward mobility, 22% held the same type of job after migration and 5% experienced upward mobility. In addition, 79% of the 404 respondents considered non-recognition or devaluation of their foreign credentials as the most important barrier they encountered in obtaining professional occupations. This research validates the debates surrounding FTP migrants experiencing downward mobility once in Canada. This phenomenon has encouraged an increasing number of

people to question the validity of Canada's immigration policy and its immigrant class designations, seeing as its main purpose is to set apart migrants' propensity to integrate.

The remainder of this chapter will draw attention to three main factors that prohibit FTP migrants to regain access to their respective positions: i) recognition of occupational accreditation and education obtained outside of Canada, ii) recognition of professional work experience obtained outside Canada, and iii) systemic lack of profession-specific and technical training.

3.2.1 Recognition of Education and Occupational Accreditation

Although in Canada the level of education among migrants has steadily increased since the 1950s (Akbari, 1999), immigrants have failed to benefit from their educational attainments and have lower returns on education than Canadian-born workers (Ley, 1999; Pratt, 1999; Reitz, 2001b, 2001d). For instance, according to CIC (*The Monitor*, Summer 2003) among the working-age immigrants who arrived in the 1990s, 41% were university-trained, 13% had a college diploma, and 8% had a trade certificate. Moreover, despite labour shortages in certain fields, many FTP migrants in Canada are not able to practice within their professions. For instance, Fleras (2001: 91) states that the situation is particularly acute with medical doctors. Significant numbers of foreign-trained doctors have settled in Ontario in the hope of qualifying as physicians in a province that acknowledges a shortage of doctors. Ontario (like most of Canada) is experiencing dwindling enrolments of medical students as well as out-migration of qualified doctors to the United States where there are better posts and higher income opportunities. According to Aycan and Berry (1996), most overseas doctors in Ontario encounter quota barriers, which severely restrict the number of migrant doctors allowed to sit medical exams, take retraining programs to become licensed, and are not offered internship places in order to gain the systemically valued Canadian work experience.

Obtaining Canadian work experience is by far one of the most difficult barriers for FTP migrants to overcome. The emphasis on Canadian work experience as a requirement for professional employment, together with non-recognition of foreign professional work experience, systematically disqualifies FTP migrants from entry into professional jobs (Boyd & Thomas, 2001; Grant & Oertel, 1998; Reitz, 2001b, Smith & Jackson, 2002).

Thus far, the economic cost of under utilisation of foreign human capital and the exact number of FTP migrants whose credentials are not properly recognised or evaluated is not clearly measured. However according to Fleras and Elliott (2003: 248), institutional refusal to recognise the original credentials of new Canadians costs Canada about $55 CAN billion in lost revenue. According to a Price-Waterhouse report commissioned by the Ontario government (1998: iii), failure to recognise foreign academic credentials and work experience results in losses to the economy due to:

- Increased costs to the welfare system and social services[56]
- Costs associated with unnecessary retraining[57]
- The loss of potential revenue from foreign-trained individuals who are unable to work and contribute to the tax base and other parts of the economy
- Losses to employers who are unable to find employees with the skills and abilities they desperately require

Sociologists view professions as groups engaged in a political process by which various occupations compete over jurisdiction, skill, earning, work autonomy, and strategic control over a body of knowledge or expertise (Collins, 1979; Larson, 1977; MacDonald, 1995; Shuval, 2000). Shuval (2000: 193) claims that the principal factor, which provides professionals such as physician's power and authority, is their control of expert knowledge. Among the critical dimensions of such professional power is their control of the market through a licensing mechanism, which determines the boundaries

---

[56] The non-accreditation of migrant professionals costs Canada in terms of annual revenue losses derived from labour market inefficiency because of the non/under-utilisation of FTP migrants. The costs include: i) foregone income, ii) lost taxes, and iii) increased income support benefits given to unemployed or underemployed FTP migrants.

[57] The *Canadian Labour Force Development Board* (CLFDB) reported in 1999 that the costs to Canada of raising and educating the migrants who arrived between 1992 and 1997 would have been more than a billion dollars (*Training & Development Associates*, 1999: 13).

of legitimate practice, supply of personnel, entry criteria, and rates of entry of new practitioners into the field.

Many occupations in Canada are regulated to protect the interests of citizens. However, regulated occupations vary from province to province. Currently, professional bodies within each province have delegated regulatory powers through provincial legislation regarding evaluation of foreign credentials. In licensed professions, regulators establish standards of entry, which will decide how an applicant's competencies will be assessed, and thus determine whether an individual is qualified for entry into the profession and licensure. Whether trained in Canada or abroad, prospective employees seeking to work in one of the professional regulated occupations must obtain a license from the provincial occupational regulatory body for their respective occupation [For the structures of occupational regulatory bodies refer to Appendix 4]. At present, there is no central transfer organisation and there are multiple models in use. The responsibility for granting licensing and assessment of previous credentials is divided among several organisations (*i.e.* federal and provincial government, regulated bodies, Postsecondary Education Sector (PSE) institutions, and employers). Therefore, there is credential assessment incompatibility between learning institutions, workplaces and employers, and professional occupations in Canada.[58] According to Bloom and Grant (2001: 11), these organisations' primary interest is in their own specific trade, profession, or jurisdiction. For instance, PSE institutions have financial disincentives to recognise credentials from other institutions or jurisdictions in Canada, prior learning from workplaces, and real-life experience or alternative education such as non-traditional schools and learning systems. This is because PSE institutions do not see learning recognition as a key line of business except as it pertains to the main body of full-time, and non-transferees educated within their province.

[58] For instance, the *Canadian Council of Professional Engineers* (CCPE) currently conducts approximately 15,000 evaluations of foreign credentials each year, charging migrants $175Ca. for each assessment. While PEO (the regulator) considers these as informal assessments and considers them as not binding within the provincial regulatory bodies who have a sole authority to grant or withhold licenses (*The Maytree Foundation*, 2000: 15). Therefore, these assessments are futile to FTP migrants as a personal measure of employability in Ontario.

According to Basaran and Zong (1998: 19), since most agencies (public and private) produce arbitrary standards that are applied in a subjective case-by-case manner, there is a lack of consistency in the foreign qualification evaluation process. Therefore, foreign qualifications (none Canadian, American, or British) are not given due recognition for the credentials and trainings obtained. *The Maytree Foundation* (2001) claims that although it is generally possible, if difficult, for Canadians licensed in one province to gain recognition of their qualifications and licensure in another province, gaining recognition of foreign credentials is in many cases next to impossible. According to Thompson (2000: 28), "[T]*here are large differences in the transferability of education obtained outside of Canada*". Migrants from South and Central Asia, the Middle East and Southern and Eastern Europe have particularly restricted access to high-skill occupations in Canada. Curtis, Grabb and Guppy (1993) emphasise how those who have recognised training and skills, and possess formal credentials or degrees in professional areas, medicine and law particularly, benefit from the advantages such exclusive accreditation brings and tend to favour the continuation of the system of special certification and exclusive privileges for themselves.

Employers in Canada generally invest in firm-specific training that has a low probability of being transferable to other firms, professional licensing and standards bodies, or colleges and universities. Such incompatibility has further exacerbated the divide between employers, learners, and educators. Miscommunication and lack of coordination in transfer agreements among institutions has also produced inefficiencies, which has been a systemic barrier towards the development of national transfer standards and practices (currently there are provincial, national, and international standards). Watt and Bloom (2001: 19) highlight how the combined lack of universal standards and centralised regulatory structure and regulation has made national as well as international transfer of qualifications and previous work experience complex. At present, there are no mechanisms and agreements to transfer licences between provinces in Canada, which limits inter-provincial portability of credentials for all Canadians (Bloom & Grant, 2001: 11).

Entry criteria for professions tend to vary amongst provinces. In order to qualify for practice in Canada, the individual must pass a combination of professional and language examinations and submit a review of their qualifications. They must then undertake a specified period of supervised work experience and demonstrate language competency plus other achievements. What's more, according to *Industry Canada* (2001: 59), there is an absence of tradition and support for universal workplace training. Nongovernmental organisations (settlement and other not-for-profit) also have piecemeal natured interventions in their support to FTP migrants. The assessment of policies and practices regarding licensing and recognition of foreign qualification highlights the dynamic structural barriers in Canada [Refer to Appendix 5 for a map of licensing process in Ontario]. According to Brouwer (1999), at the individual level, FTP migrants lack awareness or understanding of the transfer systems available to them. There is also an absence of appeal processes for those unfairly denied entry to regulated occupations.

Some sociologists have attributed discrepancies in accreditation recognition, certification and licensing, employment, and income to prevalence of racism in Canada (Galabuzi, 2001; Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2001). Unequal outcomes between groups with similar levels of education do strongly suggest racial discrimination in hiring and promotions. Recent migrants have also identified racial discrimination as a key barrier to advancement within the Canadian job market (Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2001).

3.2.2 Recognition of Professional Work Experience

Census 2001 indicates that despite the strong economic growth in the late 1990s, the labour market gap between recent migrants and Canadian born has continued. In 2001, only 65.8% of recent migrants were employed. This rate was 16% lower than the rate of 81.8% among Canadian born (*Statistics Canada*, 2003b: 12). The unemployment rate of

recent migrants aged 25 to 44 was 12.1%, which was twice that of the Canadian-born population at 6.4% (*Statistics Canada*, 2003b: 13).

Shuval (2000: 193) drew attention to how since the end of 1990s, established practitioners in medical occupations have frequently been unwilling to accept retrained physicians as colleagues. According to Shuval, as in other segments of the economy, locally trained doctors do not accept certain undesirable jobs within the profession. This has given rise to a dual labour market in medicine and a permanent structural need for migrant physicians. As a result, even when migrant physicians succeed in obtaining a licence to practice, the professional posts available to them are often those deemed unacceptable by local physicians. The jobs are generally in a less desired specialities ad are frequently in low-status positions in remote or what is nationally considered as bad geographical regions or social settings. Nevertheless, migrant doctors accept these options in an effort to re-establish their professional identity in Canada.

Moreover, CIC reported that between 1991 and 1994, 10, 279 immigrants arrived in Canada listing civil, mechanical, and chemical or electrical engineering as their intended occupation. However, according to Statistics Canada, by April 1996 only 5,770 (approximately 50%) of the immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 1996 were practising these professions. The statistic on those who were doing so as licensed engineers is unknown because of regulatory organisations' lack of centralised data maintenance (*Statistic Canada*, 1999).

Existing evidence indicates that foreign experience has little market value in Canada (Fleras & Elliott, 2003: 248). After taking into account FTP migrants opinions on how foreign education is evaluated in Canada, Basaran and Zong (1998: 12) acknowledged that the non-recognition of foreign work experience is a major barrier for migrants' economic integration. In their study, over 90% of FTP migrants reported that they had professional work experience in their country of origin, which was systematically discarded in Canada. Among them, 47% had four to nine years of professional work experience and 35% had ten or more years. The lack of recognition of foreign work experience forces migrants to seek low-grade survival jobs, in positions below their

competency level, and in a different field. Furthermore, these jobs frequently have relatively low rates of pay and are in temporary employment (Beiser, Johnoson & Turner, 1993; Foot, 1994; Krau, 1991; Lochhead, 2003, Shuval, 2000).

Evidence indicates that survival jobs gradually erode migrants' technical skills and knowledge and increase the probability of them experiencing unemployment (Arulampalam, Gregg & Gregory, 2001; Lochhead, 2003; McFonald & Worswick, 1997; Wanberg, 1995). Arulampalam, Gregg, and Gregory (2001: 577) assert that:

> ***"The best predictor of individuals' future risk of unemployment is* [sic] *his past history of unemployment* [...]*; unemployment tends to bring future unemployment."***

According to *Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities* (Goldberg, 2000), less than a quarter of immigrant professionals in Ontario are actually employed in their respective professions. The first job FTP migrants take in Ontario has a significant impact on their future job offers. For instance, among those who arrived in Ontario in 1994 and 1995, those whose first job was in their field had a 73% to 79% likelihood of still working in their field in 1999. In contrast, individuals whose first job was not in their field of expertise had only a 39% to 43% chance of being employed in their field by 1999. Whilst, the *Institute for Research on Public Policy* (IRPP) recent migrants are less likely to be employed in occupations typically requiring a university degree. As a result, most newcomers are not part of the knowledge economy.[59]

3.2.3 Systemic Lack of Profession-specific and Technical Upgrading

A good level of English is indispensable within the Canadian labour market and affects migrants' employment prospects (Portes & Zhou, 1999). However, according to

---

[59] *Institute for research on Public Policy* (IRPP) (http://www.irpp.org/miscpubs/archieve/Bouchard_immig.pdf, date accessed 28/03/07).

Thomas (1992), thus far, the federal and provincial governments of Canada, the regulated professions, the PSE institutions, the employers, and the volunteer settlement sector do not offer profession-specific and technical language training to FTP migrants. Moreover, employers and licensing and regulatory bodies interpret migrants' language proficiency differentially (Pendakur & Pendakur, 1997; Davila, Bohara & Saenz, 1993). Therefore, when there is a grave need to fill a position, commonly less attention is paid to the migrants' language capacity (Salaff, Greve, & Ping, 2001: 7).

Whilst illustrating migrants' ease of access to services in Canada, *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 45-46) analysis of LSIC 2001 data draws attention to how 42.3% of main applicants and 41.4% of spouses and dependents in the economic class, 34.9% family class, and 30.5% of refugees found difficulties in accessing education and training. While 75.5% of main applicants and 74.7% of spouses and dependents within the economic class, 56.6% family class, and 67.5 percent of refugees found difficulties entering labour market in Canada [Refer to Appendix 17].

3.3 INTEGRATION STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY MIGRANTS

This section draws attention to the coping strategies migrants employ to overcome inequalities and disadvantages they encounter in Canada. It also investigates what factors affect the strategies migrants adopt to overcome these barriers. The sociological literature has generally focused on the negative aftermath of emigration-immigration and less on the way migrants cope with the situation (Grant, 1999; Hiebert, 1999; Hiebert & Ley, 2001; House of Commons Canada, 2003; Krau, 1991; Mata & Pendakur, 1998; Neuwirth, 1999; Potter, 1999; Reitz, 2001d; Thomas, 1992).

Dion (1996)[60] states that in order to gain aspirations to cope with the existing social disadvantages, migrants often choose between two broadly competing and mutually opposed strategies: an "*individualistic, assimilationist strategy*" versus a "*collectivistic, heritage culture maintenance strategy*". The individualistic strategy involves focusing on one's own personal achievement and individual upwardly social mobility, whilst attempting to fit into the majority group. It involves adopting values and customs of the majority group in preference to those of one's own heritage group. There are assumptions that migrants prefer an individualistic strategy in the first instance, especially those with higher status, higher education, and/or higher skill levels. However, if unsuccessful, they are postulated to resort to an alternative, collectivistic strategy. By contrast, migrants who prefer collectivistic strategy cherish and maintain their heritage culture and language in their adopted country. This involves ethnocultural community's collective action whereby the weight of numbers and group pressure is used to get the government and relevant institutions to redress real and/or perceived inequities (*Ibid*).

Whilst studying inter-group relations in Canada, Lalonde and Cameron (1993) compared four migrant groups in Toronto: Caribbean Blacks, Chinese, Greeks, and Italians. Their results indicated that racialised migrant groups (the Blacks and Chinese) because of feeling more stigmatised, were more inclined to support collective strategy than the white and less stigmatised groups (*i.e.*, Italians and Greeks). Lalonde and Cameron hypothesise that these migrants' collective strategy may be based on the belief that working within their ethnic group is the best way to protect and maintain their personal and group status. Their finding was the same even when the length of residency in Canada was held constant. Therefore, migrants' support for heritage culture maintenance and other collectivistic orientations represents evidence of a defensive reaction to perceived stigmatisation or discrimination and positive group identification in Canada. Thus far, the functional or motivational basis for the collectivistic strategy has not been well explored. For example, it is not clear whether choosing a collectivistic strategy for positive *vs.* negative reasons might influence migrants' attitude and behaviour in the host societies.

---

[60] http://canada.metropolis.net/research-policy/litreviews/tylr_rev/tylr_rev-01.html, accessed date 20/04/01.

The remainder of the chapter will explore various individual level strategies FTP migrants adopt in response to the main social and economic barriers they experience in Canada.

3.3.1 Ethnic Enclaves

Empirical reality suggests incorporation of ethnic and racialised groups into the broader society often develops through self-enclosed migrant communities. These are socially constructed areas where stigmatised sections of the population are relegated and constrained. Enclaves occur when migrants congregate segments of society and economy where they experience less discrimination (Hiebert, 2003; Hou, 2004; Kazemipur & Halli, 1997, 2000; Reitz, 1990; Richmond, 1992; Wilson & Portes, 1980). Individuals within these enclaves are assumed isolated from the mainstream society and dependent upon an alternative set of institutions. Although they may move out of these enclaves, the enclaves never entirely cease to exist. Enclaves generally consist of concentrations of members of specific racialised groups in different status levels of occupations, neighbourhoods, political, religious units *etc*. In other words, members of racialised groups become differentially incorporated into the structure of the broader society. As mentioned earlier (in section 2.3.2) this differentiated structure impacts on the status of ethnic groups and arranges them in relation to each other into an order of ethnic stratification. Nevertheless, according to Isajiw, Sev'er, and Driedger, (1993) although on the one hand, enclave concentrations may be defined as representing inequitable incorporation; on the other hand, it may function and be seen as a resource drawn upon by members of ethnic and racialised groups to attain more equitable social and economic incorporation.

Regarding neighbourhood enclaves, Schellenberg (2004: 23) postulates that the growth of ethnic neighbourhoods has been a result of two factors: 1) an increase in the concentration of ethnic groups within certain neighbourhoods in Canada's largest CMAs, and 2) the increasing size of racialised populations within these CMAs.

According to Schellenberg, the relative importance of the two factors varies across different groups.

Moreover, there are a number of theories which describe the prevalence of enclaves within the labour market [*i.e.* '*Social Marginality Hypothesis*', originally proposed by Stanworth & Curran, 1973 which was later expanded by Maxim, Zhao & Beaujot throughout 1994-97; '*Unemployment Push*' also referred as the '*Blocked Mobility*' or '*Relative Disadvantage Thesis*' (Beaujot & Zhang, 1997), and '*Ethnic Networks*' (Breton, 1984; Driedger, 1989; Hiebert, 2003; Hou, 2004; Wellman, 1999; Zimmer & Aldrich, 1987)]. Numerous literatures have explained the propensity of migrant groups to concentrate in different sectors of the labour market (Haggerty & Johnson, 1995; Galabuzi, 2001; Reitz, 1982). For instance, Reitz and colleagues (Reitz, 1982; Reitz, Calzavara & Dasko, 1981) have shown how migrants from Southern Europe work in different sectors of the economy compared to migrants from other areas, such as Central and Eastern Europe and those from the U.K. or USA. According to Sanders and Nee (1996), this phenomenon may be a result of employers' recognition of the value of human capital earned by migrants within the particular enclave.

As mentioned previously, the different occupational composition of the immigrant groups is a result of their cultural background and work experience in their country of origin as well as existing networks in Canada. Balakrishnan (1991) asserts that many racialised and ethnic groups develop their own social and financial institutions to help new migrants of their own ethnic background. Some migrants throughout their lives in the host society stay within the shelter of their own communities. Differences among the ethnic groups may be related to the help available within these ethnic communities.

Evidence indicates that the role ethnic networks play in urban economies has been an explanatory factor in defining why migrants choose certain communities and economic sectors. Large ethnic communities within Canada's major cities offer a greater variety of both occupational and service opportunities for group members, which may in turn buffer the impact of non-recognition of credentials (Hiebert 2003; Hou, 2004).

Questioning differential incorporation is important in the assessment of how much segmentation is acceptable within a diverse society. It is also important in assessing under what conditions differential incorporation may be inequitable or unjust. Ethnic enclaves are important in understanding to what extent differential incorporation of ethnic groups is a source of interethnic tensions and conflicts. It is also important in weighing up the consequences differential incorporation has on the social mobility patterns of different ethnic groups.

3.3.2 Self-employment

In labour markets with high unemployment rates such as in Canada, self-employment has become an important alternative for disadvantaged groups such as women, migrants, and racialised nationals. However, Beaujot and Zhang (1997) claim that very few studies have specifically considered entry into self-employment from the jobless state. Since the early 1990s, many racialised nationals and migrants have opted for self-employment because of discrimination, limited availability of well-paid jobs, and loss of contacts and human capital (Pendakur & Mata, 1999; Reitz, 2002). These individuals have set their own businesses as another avenue towards economic integration and path to upward mobility (Beaujot, Maxim & Zhao, 1994).

However, research evidence indicates that rates of self-employment vary tremendously among migrant groups (Gardner, 1994; Razin & Langlois, 1996a, 1996b). The literature on ethnic entrepreneurship in Canada (*e.g.*, Olson, 1991; Chan, 1992; Li, 1993; Nash, 1994; Taylor, 1995; Ma & Fong, 1996; Razin & Langlois, 1996a, 1996b) suggests that not all migrant groups have attained the same degree of involvement and success in small business.[61] Certain ethnic groups have a higher entrepreneur-ship propensity because barriers such as human capital resources (*i.e.* financial resources and business

[61] For instance, in Toronto, the proportions of all migrants who are self-employed does not differ much for foreign-born and Canadian-born adults, however, migrants from specific origins such as Korea, Hong Kong, and China have much higher than average rates of self-employment (Lo *et al.*, 2000).

knowledge and experience) often restrain some individual's entry to self-employment (Langlois & Razin, 1989; Lo *et al.*, 2000; Razin & Langlois, 1996a, 1996b). Blocking mechanisms such as limited business networks, general lack of exposure to national business practices and planning, combined with limited access to external business advice often further prohibit self-employment. In addition, generally self-employed individuals are more likely to work in the non-professional service sector, which includes wholesale trade, retail trade, accommodation, food and beverage, and other service industries (Zhang & Beaujot, 1997). This has contributed to racialised groups' occupational concentration and segregation in these areas.

According to Beaujot & Zhang (1997-12:2), "*Unemployment Push*" proposes that the difficulties and barriers experienced by disadvantaged groups within the labour market tend to push them into self-employment. They found that as the duration of unemployment lengthened; the skills and experiences of the unemployed became less valuable. Consequently, their general employment prospects were reduced. Their results indicated that the '49-63' age groups was even less likely to make transitions either to paid work or self-employment, thus demonstrating the labour market difficulties in accommodating the older persons who become unemployed. Maxim, Zhao & Beaujot's (1994) '*Social Marginality Hypothesis*' postulate that if an individual's attributes are perceived by that person as being above the social and occupational roles s/he finds available then s/he will have a higher propensity to opt for self-employment. They argue that migrants with high educational credentials obtained outside of Canada have higher likelihood of turning to self-employment. As a result, studying the role race and ethnicity plays within the Canadian small business sector is essential to the understanding of migrants' integration within the Canadian society (Refer to section 5.3.2 for theorisation of race and ethnicity).

3.3.3 Further Education

When migrants face barriers in transferring qualifications and experience difficulties in finding employment in Canada, they frequently upgrade their qualifications. They obtain Masters (MSc.) or Doctoral (Ph.D.) postgraduate degree or additional degrees in a related field (often in a lower qualification scale than one in which they are qualified in) from Canadian PSE institutions (Li, 2001; Reitz, 2001b, d). *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001 shows that 39.6% (164, 200 sample) of recent migrants had difficulties accessing education and training, 69.9% difficulties entering labour market, 65.9% had plans to obtain further training [Refer to Appendix 16]. In order to meet the Canadian experience requirement migrants either choose to serve in rural areas if there are internship placements, or choose volunteering as a root to employment.

3.4 THE MISMATCH BETWEEN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION AIMS, IMMIGRATION POLICY, AND INTEGRATION APPROACH

> *"We do not have to read Marx's Kapital to know that a society should be judged by its actions and not by its declarations."*
>
> (Krau, 1991: 67)

The setback caused by non-recognition of foreign qualifications and the ensuing integration difficulties for skilled and professional migrants was first identified by the Federal government researchers in the 1950s and has been supported by almost every report by academic and other researchers since. However, in accordance with Richmond (2000) little action has been taken in resolving the long-established integration obstacles.

Although the Canadian Federal government encourages immigration for permanent settlement and claims that, it desires racialised migrants' social and economic integration; both Federal and Provincial government are reluctant to provide sufficient financial assistance in implementing necessary programs for migrants' integration. According to Isajiw (1997: 91), research evidence clearly suggests that the government has historically fallen short of providing migrants 'full' citizenship and citizenship rights, which has led to sanctioning of social and systemic discriminatory treatments in Canada. Migrants, racialised, and ethnic nationals currently have a high propensity for unemployment, low income, and poverty. The growing prevalence of such social exclusions emphasise the contradiction between Canada's official multiculturalism policy, supposedly anti-racist practice, and receptive immigration and citizenship approach. Moreover, the disadvantaged positioning of migrants and racialised and ethnic nationals is an indication of the incongruity between the immigration selection policies and integration policies (Lo *et al.*, 2000). Consequently, Richmond (1994: 145) postulates that there is a massive discord between Canada's immigration program objectives and the reality encountered by many migrants on arrival, which he concludes makes the efforts by immigration department to recruit well-educated immigrants a mockery. As a result, the Canadian immigration system may be seen as based on rhetoric rather than reality.

In an attempt to account for such incongruity, Castles and Kosack (1975) note that it is not in the interest of the dominant group to create and follow policies that would lead the migrants and their children into better circumstances, because such actions would deprive the host country of an adequate supply of indispensable cheap labour. They claim that it is for this reason that the educational opportunities offered to migrants and racialised nationals are extremely restricted to semi-skilled professions. Such systemic racial discrimination is built into Canadian organisational structures and processes and often involves informal activities and systemic cultures. Owing to its nature, such racism is difficult to identify. There is no clear consensus on its prevalence and it is difficult to implement effective policy remedy.

According to Beck, Reitz and Weiner (2002: 1) although at the federal level Canada has policies against discrimination and has specific enforcement responsibilities defined by the *Canadian Human Rights Act* (CHRA, 1985) and the *Employment Equity Act* (EEA, 1986); there is no consensus on their effectiveness. For example, EEA mandates no quotas or preferential hiring except for reporting data. Therefore, public and private sector employers often interpret accommodation of equal representation as merely addressing the training and promotion needs of employees. Thus, compliance is left to the discretion of the organisations. In addition, the Act affects only federally regulated companies (namely banks, transportation companies, broadcasters, telephone companies, and so-called crown corporations with more than one hundred employees); in other words, non-regulated companies, which comprise the majority of private companies, are not covered by the EEA, and are only asked to sign a certificate of commitment. This means they are only asked to allow access to data so no equity plan needs to be submitted and no penalty is provided for failure to meet standards.

Since the available measures are not proactive and tend to involve discretion of the organisations, Liberal critics argue that they are symbolic and point at the weaknesses of the existing programs. For instance, Isajiw (1997: 274) highlights that genuine Federal employment equity measures should require employers to set equity goals and timetables, consult and report their progress annually to the Federal government, and periodically get reviewed. Whilst, the Conservatives use the slow progress and highlight the difficulty of measuring the program's output independently from other economic, educational, demographic and psychological factors, and generally criticise the efficiency and usefulness of equity programs. More psychologically oriented critics point at the lack of motivation, interest, knowledge, qualifications, and mobilisation efforts in marginalized groups and draw attention to the persisting prejudices and stereotyping of employers, management, unions, and mainstream employees.

Hitherto, few studies have looked at EE from the perspective of the actors involved and the existing organisational constraints in Canada (Bakan & Kobayashi, 2003; Isajiw, 1997; Leck & Saunders, 1992, 1994, 1996; Mentzer & Fizel, 1992). Moreover, equal opportunity has not yet demanded equality of outcome in Canada and its application has

been essentially procedural. According to Brouwer (1999), policies and practices that limit access to accreditation, trades and professions refute the protection accorded by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom* and provincial human rights legislation. As a result, Canada's genuine interest in promotion of equality and equitable advancement of its marginalized groups is questionable.

Over the last few decades, some observers have attributed FTP migrants' social and economic integration barriers to external effects such as continuous high unemployment and slow economic growth in Canada. However, Janzen, Azmi, and Chakkalakal (2001: 29) stress that social and economic barriers are a product of the way by which the 'system' of stakeholders function in Canada [For details of the web of stakeholders involved within immigration and integration process refer to Appendix 6]. In Canada, the main stakeholders comprise:

a) Immigrants and refugees
b) Employers
c) Federal government [CIC and *Human Resources and Social Development Canada* (HRSDC)
d) Provincial government who are generally responsible for occupational regulation and who have a direct role in trades licensing and migrant settlement
e) Independent Occupational Regulatory Bodies who function as gatekeepers to professional practice (their authority is delegated from the provinces)
f) Academic credential assessment services
g) Post-secondary educational institutions
h) Community agencies

For migrants, seeking accreditation of professional degrees in Canada often means dealing with no fewer than four major institutional stakeholders: i) post-secondary education institutions, ii) provincial governments, iii) professional self-regulating bodies, and iv) employers. Each of these stakeholders has the authority to decide some of the inputs and outcomes of the accreditation process. One of the main systemic problems in Canada is the underlying jurisdictional boundary, which has a bearing on various layers of emigration and integration process. For instance, the federal

government has the lead responsibility for immigration and the financing of migrant settlement programs. It also has a lead in human resources development and multiculturalism and is in itself the country's largest employer. Whilst provincial governments provide labour market training, deliver immigrant settlement programs, and enact legislation governing regulated professions. They are also large employers. The municipal governments in immigrant receiving destinations have an interest in social and economic integration, and are themselves large employers. The private sector employers are responsible for recruitment, hiring, on-the-job training of employees and many provide co-op work placements in partnership with educational institutions. Colleges and universities provide educational courses, counselling and advice to their students, and may arrange co-op work placements with employers. Academic credential assessment services provide comparisons between foreign academic credentials and their equivalents in Canadian institutions. In licensed professions, the regulators establish standards of entry decide how an applicant's competencies will be assessed and determine whether an individual is qualified for entry into the profession and licensure. Professional associations provide services and representation for members of their profession (Alboim, 2002: 17).

According to Richmond (2000: 117), since professional associations and labour unions have historically placed restrictions on inter-provincial and international recognition of certification, the problem of non-recognition of FTP migrants' foreign qualifications has fallen under provincial rather than federal jurisdiction. According to current immigration laws (subject to some restrictions and exceptions under the *North American Free Trade Agreement* —NAFTA[62]) employers are not permitted to seek workers outside Canada unless they can demonstrate that there are no qualified personnel available in Canada. In some instances, union agreements even stipulate that employers may not hire from outside the local union. Such recruitment restriction prohibits FTP migrants to secure a job prior to emigration. The above discussion provides good examples of how labour barriers experienced by FTP migrants are a

[62] In January 1994, Canada, the United States and Mexico launched the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA) and formed the world's largest free trade area. Four categories of travellers, namely business visitors, traders and investors, intra-company transferees and professionals are eligible for temporary entry from one NAFTA country into another (*Foreign Affairs and International Trades Canada*, http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/menu-en.asp , accessed date 10/01/07).

product of collective behaviours as claimed earlier by Janzen, Azmi & Chakkalakal (2001). Accordingly, lasting and long-term changes to policies and practices are possible only through systemic change. This can only happen if there is a change in the way the various stakeholders function (*Ibid.*). However, achieving systemic change involves changing people's attitudes. Thus far, the extent to which the Canadian society is willing to change in order to incorporate migrants has not been explored well within the literature.

In 1998, the Federal Government devolved its responsibility from the direct administration and funding of settlement service to partners at the provincial or local level. This gave provinces a greater role in managing and funding immigrant services, and in immigration planning and policy. For instance, the '*Provincial nominees Agreement*' involves the provinces in the selection of skilled migrants for their contribution to the provincial economy. Federal-provincial working groups are the mechanisms in place to facilitate federal-provincial cooperation. They examine specific immigration issues including access to professions and trades, sponsorship, business immigration, promotion and recruitment, selection, settlement and language training, health, and information sharing and research (Mwarigha, 1997).[63] Currently, the conservative and neo-liberal climate of government cutbacks and devolution has given rise to what may be called '*post-multiculturalism*' (Alibhai-Brown, 2000; Ley, 2005; Richmond, 2000). At present non-governmental organisations that endeavour to assist migrants' settlement in Canada are obliged to fend for themselves (Lanphier, 1997; Mwarigha, 1997; Richmond, 1996; Creese, 1998). Currently, the major funders for settlement services[64] in Ontario area are the *Ontario Settlement and Integration Program* (OSIP) and the Federal Government, which has several programs including: *Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program* (ISAP), the Host Program[65], and

[63] Source (http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/community/Mwarigha29sep97.html, accessed date 10/01/07).

[64] Settlement services are provided to all newcomers and refugees who need these services regardless of their education, training or profession.

[65] The host program involves volunteers (individuals and groups) who help newcomers to adapt, settle and integrate into Canadian life. The program establishes friendships between newcomers and resident Canadians. It matches newcomers with a friend who is familiar with the Canadian culture and society and can assist with access to available services, with learning the language (English and French), employment contacts, and participation in community activities (*CIC*, http://www.cic.gc.ca/ENGLISH/newcomer/host-1e.html, accessed date 20/03/07).

Language Instruction for Newcomers (LINC)[66]. However, the ISAP limits its funding to a very narrowly defined settlement service provisions and predominantly provides initial support for newcomers (*i.e.* reception, referrals to health and social services, information and orientation, language training, interpretation and translation, individual and family counselling; as well as para-professional counselling and employment-related services). The funds for these services come from a variety of sources including the federal government, provincial governments, municipalities and community charities and private foundations. However, the delivery of these services (in Ontario and across Canada) is provided mainly by non-governmental organisations, in particular the community-based immigrant service agencies. In recent years owing to ensuing costs, involved, Federal, and Provincial governments have reduced financial assistance in developing necessary training programs for FTP migrants.

There are some serious problems within the current settlement system. According to Mwarigha and Murphy (1997: 3), legislative and policy changes such as: cutbacks to public spending, privatisation, amalgamation of municipalities, and devolution introduced by both Provincial and Federal governments in 1997 have had negative impacts on community-based organisations' (CBOs) operation that provide the settlement services. For instance, according to Mwarigha and Murphy (1997), the six local municipalities and the Municipal Government of Metropolitan Toronto were made to a single city of Toronto. As a result, the city of Toronto assumed funding and management responsibilities in a number of social services accessed by migrants including social assistance, childcare, and public health.[67]

Whilst, the two forms of privatisation strategy that affect CBOs are commercialisation, which promotes service delivery by commercial providers and marketisation, which introduces a competitive market type relationship in the non-profit sector. These

---

[66] LINC funds basic instruction in one of Canada's official languages regardless of whether or not they plan to get a job. Based on newcomer's abilities and needs, LINC may include full or part-time training, self-assisted, distance learning, or community or institutionally based programs. LINC is free to all immigrants however it does not include training allowances (CIC, http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection/Ci63-16-1999E.pdf , accessed date 20/03/07).

[67] Source (http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/community/Mwarigha29sep97.html, accessed date 10/01/07).

strategies have resulted in: i) Narrowly defined purchase of service agreements and time limited contracts, and ii) Increased reliance on commercial activities, such as charging a fee for services, and selling products to generate additional revenue (*Ibid.*).[68]

The cutbacks broadly consist of:

1) "***Withdrawal of Federal/Provincial government from direct service provision***

2) ***Reduction or total elimination of grants and other discretionary programs to smaller CBOs; that are low-income, immigrants serving groups and have little political power, and***

3) ***Increased reliance on competitive market type mechanisms for allocation of funding to low-cost private providers; or to the larger, more mainstream CBOs who are seen as able to meet the requirements of purchase of service agreements***" (*Ibid.*).

Omidvar and Richmond (2003: 16) draw attention to *Commissioner of Community and Neighbourhood Services* (2001) claims that the downloading of responsibilities to municipalities has caused extra pressures for the municipalities. For instance in the city of Toronto, planners warn that the municipality requires more resources to respond to the growing need for housing, employment and community services for newcomers.

Secondly, most settlement funding and programming is focused on the initial stages of adaptation, despite the fact that the process continues throughout newcomers' life. For instance, Mwarigha (2002) notes that after the initial or first stage of adaptation migrants' principal needs becomes centred on timely and equitable access to the labour market. In the middle or intermediate stage, newcomers require assistance with access to various Canadian systems and institutions including municipal services, access to housing, health services, legal assistance, and advanced or employment-specific language instruction. In the long term or final stage of settlement, immigrants and refugees strive to become equal participants in Canada's economic, cultural, social, and political life.

[68] Source (http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/community/Mwarigha29sep97.html, accessed date 10/01/07).

As Mwarigha highlights, migrants need both general public and settlement-specific services. In accordance to Alboim (2002: 30), the type of integration assistance migrants may need depends on the nature and the number of settlement/integration gaps they might have. Generally, there is a need for programs in the following areas:

a) ***"Academic courses to complete requirements for full recognition of an academic credential***
b) ***Language training programs geared to labour market participation***
c) ***Opportunities to upgrade technical skills through courses or on-the-job training***
d) ***Opportunities to gain knowledge of Canadian workplace practice"***

However, settlement needs of migrants vary at different stages of the settlement process and from individual to individual. Despite the fact that there are numerous channels for migrants to get integration support, evidence indicates that their needs are not being met (Abu-Laban, 1998; CCR, 1998; CLBC 2004; Geronimo, 2000; Lo *et al.*, 2000; OCASI, 2001). Geronimo (2000: 5) postulates that this is related to the fact that Canada's settlement service policies, programs and priorities are developed, interpreted, and implemented in absence of commonly understood set of standards, principles, or even purpose. In this context, the inadequate distribution of funding and resources affects the quality, availability, and continuity of services. According to Omidvar and Richmond (2003: 18-19) the lack of pan-Canadian and long-term perspectives on settlement provision, which takes into account all three stages of settlement has caused service crisis in Canada. Moreover, Mwarigha (1997) claims that the medium to long-term effects of cutbacks and devolution has weakened the vital partnership between government and CBOs.

Thirdly, Federal government's restructuring of allocation of funding (namely from core to program-specific funding) has put CBOs who deliver settlement services in a precarious position since larger agencies with more administrative resources are favoured on a contractual basis (Owen, 1999; Richmond, 1996; Shields, 2002; and Simich, 2000). As a result, many CBOs providing settlement services, particularly the smaller ethno-specific agencies have been forced to curtail their services to provide more general and often short-term services or had to closedown. Those that are still

functioning are operating under conditions of extreme stress due to a combination of overloaded service demand, increase in workload, limited staff development, and general funding to operate effectively. Leung (2000) articulates that the competitive nature of the available funding schemes has also created difficulties for agencies to work cooperatively. As a result, there is currently little coordination among agencies and referrals and transferrals are not easy.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter drew attention to the evidence representing FTP migrants' integration experiences in Canada. The discussions identified and explained the three top institutional barriers and integration needs; namely recognition of education and occupational accreditation, recognition of work experience and systemic lack of profession-specific and technical upgrading.

The main aim of this chapter was to highlight the incongruity between the current immigration policy, integration provisions, societal acceptance of racialised groups and migrants, and contemporary integration experiences of FTP migrants. It identified:

i) Main stakeholders within the immigration and integration

ii) Symbolic policies and legislations: underlying lack of genuine interest in integration of migrants (*i.e. Canadian Human Rights Act*, *Charter of Rights and Freedom*, and *Employment Equity Act*)

iii) Structural gaps: (*i.e.* Federal government encourages immigration of well-educated migrants but has no integration policy or infrastructure in place at the provincial, local level. Nor within the labour market to assist in incorporation of the migrants; operational changes to settlement services (*i.e.* commercialisation, marketisation, and purchase of service agreements, financial and service cutbacks to settlement services, and devolution of settlement responsibility and accountability to provinces and localities), and

iv) Discriminatory institutional regulations and practices (*i.e.* employers within the private and public sector value Canadian education and have exclusionary intent and practices which are major barriers to migrants).

The chapter concluded with identification and discussions of the three main strategies FTP migrants adopt in order to overcome systemic barriers, namely engagement in ethnic enclaves, self-employment and attainment of further education.

The debates within this chapter emphasise that in order to work out the problems emanating from the lack of integration of FTP migrants, the Canadian government must acknowledge the harm the existing lack of harmonisation between various administrative levels is causing. I suggest that harmonisation will be possible by setting up a corresponding integration policy and infrastructure to complement the existing immigration framework. More specifically, this requires Federal government to directly influence and manipulate hiring and recertification practices within professional organisations and the private sector.

CHAPTER 4

IMMIGRATION POLICY CONTEXT IN CANADA

> ***"Policies proclaimed to be "social" may advance welfare but may also be instruments for securing other objectives, which may be detrimental to people's well-being. Therefore, it is important to consider the motives or purpose of those defining and implementing policy."***
>
> (Hill, 1997: 2)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Thus far, the review of the literature has emphasised the multifaceted nature of the interaction between migration and integration process. It has also exposed how these processes may be examined from either individual or structural perspectives. In fact, evidence indicates that this could be done through scrutinising underlying socio-cultural principles, national notions of citizenship, public policy framework, and through ideological and economic analysis. The ideological analysis primarily drew attention to the way the policy is lacking specific goals and an overall guiding vision. Whilst the economic analysis highlighted Federal government's main aim to optimise immigration targets through distinction of the type of migrants who contribute quickly to the economy and those that are a burden. Previous discussions have also highlighted that genuine analysis of the integration experiences of migrants is only possible through taking into account the nature and influence of historical, ideological, cultural, social and political developments; and their impact on the way society and its institutions are structurally established. Since a nation's immigration, policy influences its public discourse regarding acceptance of migrants and implementation of national integration approach, the main aim of this chapter is to locate the policy context in Canada.

In view of Chapter two's (Section 2.3) discussions that highlighted government's nation-building aspirations, this chapter focuses on how such aspirations have influenced immigration policy developments in Canada. The chapter particularly explores federal government's position concerning immigration and questions whether Canada actually needs as many migrants as it claims it does. It draws attention to what the government claims it is trying to implement and achieve through the immigration policy and scrutinises the way it is working in reality. As a result, it analyses the aims and objectives of the 'points based' immigration system and examines how it has led to recent policy amendments, namely Bill C-11.

Critics like Bissondath (1994), Stoffman (2002), and The *Maytree Foundation* (2001) claim that the points system is merely government's way of spin doctoring. The discussions in this chapter explore the extent to which their claims may be justified through the analysis of Federal government's approach to immigration. The debates presented particularly draw attention to systemic weaknesses, ambiguities, and contradictions within the Canadian immigration policy framework. In the process, they assist in identifying the main failures of current immigration policy namely regarding Canada's absorptive capacity, geographic distribution of migrants, and the policy's ability to attract large numbers of highly qualified professional migrants devoid of a clear federal, regional or municipal integration strategy.

4.2 THE POLICY CONTEXT

Canada is one of the many transit and emigration countries in the world (Ucarer and Puchala, 1997). According to (Fleras, 2001: 333) classically, three characteristics distinguish immigration countries from non-immigration countries. The former countries generally view immigration as a key element of society building process and are generally known to: i) have policies in place that seek to regulate the flow of

migrants into the country; ii) grant full civil and political rights associated with citizenship to their legal migrants, and iii) have programmes in place that allege to assist in the assimilation or integration; for instance provide support with social and material adjustment. Evidence indicates that within these societies, migrants are expected to assist in social, economic, and cultural development by taking up predominantly low grade jobs, inhabit under-populated areas, contribute to population growth and make international linkages (Fleras, 2001; Fleras & Elliott, 2003).

When considering immigration policy, countries universally strive to: i) identify suitable level of immigration intake, ii) appropriate composition of migrants permitted namely the balance between economic, family, and refugee class of migrants, and iii) question how they may integrate the migrants accepted. However, according to Adelman (2001: 14) immigration policy and regulations are not formulated and implemented in a vacuum. He claims that they are influenced by social, political, and legal factors such as:

- ***"Perceived social and economic advantages, costs, opportunities and constraints such as the state of the economy***
- ***The division of power and responsibilities among federal, provincial and territorial governments***
- ***The presence of competing interest groups attempting to influence the policy and/or its implementation***
- ***Public attitudes, cultural beliefs, race and racialisation, and the views explicitly or implicitly supported by the media".***

4.2.1 Historical Developments within The Canadian Immigration Policy

Green and Green (1996: 3-4) assert that in order to fully understand the forces that have shaped the current Canadian immigration policy, there is a need to understanding how it has evolved. According to them, in the past immigration decisions were largely *ad hoc*

and were governed by prejudice against foreigners. However, within the last forty years Canada has shifted its immigration processes towards a system that is allegedly committed to fairness and impartiality. Nevertheless, this change has created a process of adding one legal layer of protection upon another. Over the years, the various Canadian immigration policies have been central to the production and reproduction of the Canadian nation.

Canada as a nation was founded on European colonisation of Aboriginal peoples and the appropriation of their lands. Throughout this process, racialised immigration policies enabled land settlement by Europeans who subsequently become integrated as the mainstream population. From the 1880s to 1960s Canada received large numbers of newcomers from Western Europe and America. These migrants' racial, ethnic, and religious heritages were reflective of those who had already populated Canada. The Canadian immigration policy during this period overtly distinguished between immigrants of 'preferred races' and 'non-preferred races' (Hawkins, 1991). As a result, various restrictive measures exist, such as those levelled against Asian migration. For example: The "*Chinese Head Tax*" (introduced in 1885-1923), the "*Exclusion Act*"[69] (1923-1947), which was a landing money requirement for East Indians, and the "*The Bill of Direct Passage or Continuous Passage*" (1914)[70] strictly controlled immigration on developing countries while European immigrants were actively recruited for settlement (Hawkins, 1991; Jakubowski, 1997). These measures were taken as a response to public opinion and were in anticipation of a larger backlash against the

---

[69] The Act came into effect in 1923, prohibiting Chinese immigrants from entering Canada. The taxes and the legislation represented 62 years of legal racism directed solely against the Chinese Canadian community. The act was effective to the extent that only 55 immigrants of Chinese descents entered the country during the 24 years it was in effect. This resulted in families being separated for decades and caused a major decline in Chinese Canadian community (Hawkins, 1991).

[70] In 1914, the Indian community faced an insurmountable challenge with the arrival of a shipload of Sikh immigrants. The Komagata Maru was a freighter from Japan carrying 376 men from the Punjab, mostly Sikhs wanting to emigrate. At the time, an order-in-council required East Indians to come to Canada by continuous passage from India. Given that no steamships at the time provided direct service between the two countries this law was designed to keep East Indians out of Canada. When the freighter arrived in Vancouver, most of the passengers were detained on board and had to wait 2 months while immigration officials and leaders from the Indian Canadian community negotiated their status. Ultimately, the cause was lost in the Court of Appeal and the freighter was forced to return. In fact the discrimination continued until 1947 when Indians were finally given the right to vote in Canada. Then later in 1950s the immigration ban was lifted and immigration resumed (*Ibid.*).

50,000 or so Asian immigrants that had migrated to the West Coast at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Over the years, gradually Canada's immigration economic objectives have shifted to fulfil the requirement for migrants that are more skilled. According to Badets and Howatson-Leo (1999), two specific economic objectives modified the Canadian economy and consequently the immigration trends. First, there was a shift from rural to urban development accompanied by the broader process of industrialisation. During the post-war period (up until the 1960s), large-scale Western European immigration consisted of formally unskilled and unqualified labourers required for urban industrial employment. However according to Fleras and Elliott (2003: 7), Western European immigration declined by the 1960s and this obliged Canada to pragmatically remove or abolish overt references to race or ethnicity within its immigration policy. Therefore, in 1967 under the *Immigration Act* of 1952, changes were introduced to the immigration policy and a legacy of discrimination based on the country of origin was removed. These reforms became instrumental in establishing the "*points-based system*".

The second shift, which started in the 1960s by the decline of the Western European immigration, was a consequence of global transition from industrial to post-industrial economy. In order to remain competitive within this global economy, Canada had to prioritise knowledge-based economy. Therefore, it significantly changed its immigration focus and increased its demand for skilled labour and skilled migrants. The points-based system set fixed criterion for selection of so-called "*Independent*" or "*Economic Immigrants*". From 1970s, onwards the points system attracted newcomers whose appearance and cultural background was visibly different to the Canadian mainstream population (Refer to section 1.1 for details).

According to DeVoretz and Laryea (1999), the Canadian points system was based on three main objectives: social, humanitarian and economic. Therefore, migrants were essentially grouped into three broad admission classes:

i) Family class: Consist of spouses, fiancées, dependent children, parents, and grandparents who will not enter the labour market. This category corresponds with the social stream of immigration

ii) Refugees: Consist of government-assisted and privately sponsored refugees selected abroad. Individuals who are recognised in Canada as Convention refugees or persons in need of protection, as well as persons who have been granted protection through the pre-removal risk assessment process. It corresponds to the humanitarian immigration stream. According to the *Maytree Foundation* (2001: 8), each year Canada accepts between 20,000 and 30,000 Convention refugees and other displaced persons. Roughly, half of these refugees are selected by either the federal government or private sponsors from abroad for resettlement in Canada. The others are successful refugee claimants who arrive in Canada seeking protection. These migrants generally put their claims to Convention refugee status to the Canadian IRB for acceptance.

iii) Economic migrants: Both Business and Independent Class of migrants are accepted through the points system allegedly in accordance with skills needed within the Canadian labour market. Correspond to the economic stream. The economic migrants are further grouped into three classes:

- Business migrants
- Independent migrants, and
- Assisted relatives

The points systems' selection criterion was initially based on skills and qualifications for the independent category and family relationships for the family category. According to Reitz (2002: 3-4) the points system was premeditated to ensure maximum employability within the Canadian economy. The Canadian government claimed that the motive behind the policy was to match the qualifications of migrants with the job openings within the Canadian labour market. At the time, numerous econometric studies appeared to show that independent migrants and entrepreneurs made a greater net contribution than the family class or refugees. These studies were used as a justification for introduction and maintenance of the system up to June 2002 when the new amendments were introduced.

According to *The Maytree Foundation* (2001), thereafter the points awarded to migrants for their occupation and training gave them the impression that they would be able to practice their occupation whilst in Canada. However as already mentioned in the

previous chapter, many migrants highly valued through the points system via application of Federal government's '*General Occupation List*'[71] faced major and sometimes insurmountable economic integration barriers. *The Maytree Foundation* (2001)[72] asserts that the application of the list was commonly criticised for being several years out of date to the extent that Canada was systemically recruiting migrants qualified to work in specific occupations that reflected labour market needs of former years. For instance, the list used in 2001 reflected 1996 Census data published in 1997. This equated to a four-year time lag. Since the Canadian economy rapidly changes, the time lag meant that there were changes to the labour market for which the migrants were selected. The Occupation List's lack of reflection of the changing economy meant that highly educated and experienced migrants faced unemployment or underemployment when in Canada [Refer to section 2.2].

According to *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 30) analysis of LSIC 2001, over half (6 in 10) of new migrants (both women and men) did not work in the same occupational field as they did prior to immigrating to Canada. New migrants' country of birth and official language skills had an impact on whether they found a job within the same field as they had been employed in before coming to Canada. For instance 63% of immigrants who were born in the United States and 68% of the Oceania born (*i.e.* Australia, New Zealand, *etc.*) were employed in the same occupational group and only 33% of those born in Asia and the Middle East, and 36% of those from Central and South America (*Ibid.*)

As it has already been highlighted, although the points system in all probability encouraged FTP migrants to consider migration to Canada, it was and still is the unequal treatment once in Canada that has been the fundamental problem. According to

---

[71] The *General Occupation List* was a directory of occupations devised by the Canadian Federal Government in 1993 to be used by officials for immigration selection purposes. The list was in use up to June 2002. It comprised of occupations that were considered to be in demand within the Canadian labour market. As part of the immigration selection policy, migrants were asked about their intended occupation and were allegedly selected based on existing national labour demands. Accordingly, occupations that were in short supply within specific provinces were referred to as 'designated' occupations. Additional points as well as priority processing were awarded to the applicants whose occupation was designated.

[72] *The Maytree Foundation*, Information Kit (February 23, 2001: 5), http://www.maytree.com, accessed date 06/03/01.

Krau (1991: 71), migrants' integration record has been rather poor for the first and the second-generation migrants. In fact, evidence has indicated that social and institutional barriers have had a greater impact on FTP migrants' integration success than the immigration intake policy in operation (Adelman, 2001; Reitz, 1998a). However, *Statistics Canada* (2001) highlights how migrants have not always faced more difficult labour market conditions than individuals born in Canada. For example, the employment rate of migrants aged 25 to 44 who arrived in the first half of the 1970s was very similar to that of their Canadian-born counterparts. Yet, after 1975, a small gap emerged within the employment rate, which resulted in the deterioration of labour market conditions for new migrants. This gap became even more pronounced during the difficult years of the early 1990s when the Canadian economy experienced a recession. As a result, migrants lost considerable ground compared with workers born in Canada. For instance, in 1996 only 61.0% of the recent migrants aged 25 to 44 held jobs, compared with 77.4% of the Canadian-born population in the same age group. This represents a gap of 17.4 percentage points. Nevertheless, Canada still claims it needs high levels of immigration, which has generally created increased strain on the economy and society [Refer to section 3.4 for details].

4.2.2 Recent Policy Developments

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the government of Canada and other non-governmental sources conducted a wide range of studies on the points system and the resultant employment outcomes. Among other conclusions, these studies found that after controlling for age, sex, and education there were substantial differences in occupational status and income between migrants from the USA, the UK, and Western Europe, and those from other countries (Refer to section 2.4.4 and 3.3 for details of these studies). The data from the last ten years also illustrates that FTP migrants are no longer able to outperform Canadian born workers one year after arrival. In fact, according to Adelman (2001: 6), "*It now takes over a decade for an immigrant to match*

the economic performance of the average Canadian taxpayer". The above evidence is a testimony to Canada's diminishing prospects for migrant assimilation.

Owing to the criticisms on the instrumentality and shortcomings of the Canadian immigration policy, the government began reviewing the immigration and refugee policy and legislation with a view of implementing fundamental policy reforms and possible introduction of a new legislation. Through this process, CIC attempted to clearly set out its vision for the Canadian immigration policy. The legislative review '*Not Just Numbers*' (Trempe, *et al.* 1997: 56) identified the visions as: i) Increase the level of skills and resources of Canada's pool of human capital by attributing value to technical knowledge, ii) Attract '*global capital*', and iii) Entice '*modern pioneers*'. Concurrent with the desire to increase the national benefits of immigration, the Federal government of Canada aimed to reduce integration costs, in other words immigrants' dependability and government's accountability through encouragement of migrants' self-sufficiency upon arrival in Canada.

Subsequently, the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Acts* (IRPA— namely *Bills C-31* and *C-11*) were respectively introduced in 2000 and 2001 and implemented on June 27, 2002 [Refer to Figure 6]. According to CIC, "*The legislation was intended to replace the much-criticised Immigration Act, which was first passed in 1976 and amended more than 30 times*" (http://www.cic.gc.ca/ENGLISH/pub/imm-law.html, accessed date01/07/03). The government claimed that the reforms make a clear distinction between the basic social, cultural, and economic goals of the Canadian immigration program and the humanitarian goals of the refugee protection program. It claimed that it was introduced in response to the greater public's wish for clearer, simpler, and more effective legislation (CIC Canada, *News Release*, 2001-03).[73] Through application of

[73] According to CIC, the aim of the new legislation was to enhance the immigration system to reflect the Canadian tradition of family reunification and family values, and to honour the Canadian history of compassion for refugees. It meant to embrace a selection criteria which would ensure the contribution of migrants to Canada's economic and social fabric (CIC, *News Release* 2001-03, Backgrounder 3, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/press/01/0103-bg3.htm, accessed date 01/07/03). IRPA requires the minister of CIC to table an annual report to Parliament by November 1 of each year. This report includes information on CIC's activities and initiatives. For instance, "*The number of new permanent residents admitted during the year and the numbers projected for the following year; the number of permanent residents in each class admitted in the provinces that are responsible for selection under a federal-provincial agreement; the linguistic profile of new permanent residents; the number of*

Bill C-11, CIC kept language, age, and job offer from the previous selection system, but moved away from the precarious occupation-based model to one focused on flexible and '*transferable skills'*. It claimed that the process would benefit from the emphasis on flexibility, adaptability, motivation and '*knowledge of Canada*' in the assessment of migrants' personal suitability. However, to date there is ambiguity about the type(s) of knowledge it is referring to (CIC, 2001). Nevertheless, the legislation is claimed to have risen from the fact that the Canadian economy values skilled technical workers and tradespersons in addition to university-educated professionals. It also reflects the importance Canada associates with proficiency in either English or French (Canada's two official languages) for speedy and successful integration. The bill particularly makes it easier for prospective migrants to qualify for admission to Canada if they are fluent in one of the two languages.

Figure 5: Canadian Immigration Policy and Legislative Reform (2001)

Source: CIC, Reformed Policies and Revised Bill (2001)
(http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/about/policy/deck/sld003.htm, accessed date, 01/07/03).

As it has been mentioned, it is important to take into account that although these changes have encouraged a shift towards generic and transferable skills requirements at the level of immigration, the labour market has continued in its movement towards more specific skills demands [Refer to Section 3.2 and 3.4 for details].

---

temporary residents; the number of people granted permanent residence on humanitarian grounds, and a gender-based analysis of the immigration program."
(http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2004/overview/index.html, accessed date 13/03/07).

In accordance with CIC, under the new Bill the Independent Class migrants' eligibility for immigration is scored based on their potential for integration within the Canadian labour force. Currently, applicants must score a minimum of 67 out of the possible 100 points. However, this pass mark may be amended as and when required by the immigration Minister to reflect changes within the Canadian labour market, economy, society as well as the changing demands of prospective migrants to Canada.[74] Currently, the federal government evaluates six factors when considering applicants for immigration to Canada (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5.html, accessed date 15/02/07) [Refer to Appendix 1A for the table]:

1. Education: up to 25 points
2. Official languages: 24 points
3. Work experience: 21 points
4. Age: 10 points
5. Arranged employment in Canada: 10 points
6. Adaptability: 10 points

It is also important to note that the introduction of Bill C-11 transpired in the process of this research, therefore it was not anticipated when the research problem was hypothesised. Consequently, this research exclusively investigates Bill C-11 in the context of previous occupation-based model of points system. As a result, this thesis' concern with Bill C-11 extends as far as exploration of amendments made concerning updating the selection criterion for FTP migrants and the reasoning behind these changes. As follows, Bill C-11 enables a criticism of past policy and practice as well as an insight into the current policy. This thesis will particularly explore the relevance of amendments and provisions introduced by the Bill and provide the opportunity to assess to what extent the new developments sufficiently address the emanating immigration and integration problems raised by existing FTP migrants in Canada. As a result, in light of the problems and difficulties experienced by the FTP respondents in this study,

[74] It is important to note that prior to the introduction of *Bill C-11* employment-related factors such as specific vocational preparation, occupation, and job experience were given 50% weighting within the total possible points awarded to an applicant under the independent class category of immigration.

the thesis examines whether Bill C-11 has the potential to eliminate or ameliorate these barriers.

It appears that through the new immigration Act, CIC has finally expressed an acknowledgement of the long over-due need to consult with the provinces on the annual numbers of migrants admitted, their geographical distribution across Canada, and the consequent measures required in order to facilitate their integration. However, the Bill's focus on transferable skills attributes migrants' inability to integrate to their lack of such skills. Furthermore, it introduces assessment criterion that cannot be measured in an agreed or precise way. Therefore, contrary to government's claims the Bill has actually further obscured the immigration selection process. Moreover, since the new Bill transfers liability to migrants for lacking sufficient transferable qualities, it raises a question whether through introduction of Bill C-11 the government's ultimate aim was to free itself from the responsibility to improve the professional and skilled migrants' integration into the Canadian labour market.

The following section will examine the current immigration policy and explores how the Canadian government is falling short of its aforementioned proclaimed principles.

4.3 FAILURES OF THE CURRENT IMMIGRATION POLICY

Thus far, it has been highlighted how in Canada immigration policy is set at the national level. Over the years, the Federal government has devolved the integration responsibilities, in other words provision of settlement services to the extent that it currently has become onus of the provincial and municipal governments. The main aim of this section is to explore the effectiveness of the current 'top-down' approach to immigration policy alongside devolved management of settlement services.

Historically, Canada's established nation-building objectives has been largely dependent on supposed values and what the government and population are willing to trade off in order to integrate migrants. At present, numerous elements of the Canadian immigration policy have broadly been identified as problematic, these include the policy's lack of explicit doctrinal justification; 'Top down' approach to setting immigration policy; Conflicting immigration aspirations namely nation-building *vs.* meeting demographical needs; Ongoing conflict between short and long-term goals of the policy; Setting quantity and the quality of the immigration inflow; Failing to meet acclaimed Federal objectives, and Complicated and inoperative immigration categorisation.

Although the Canadian immigration policy lacks an explicit doctrinal justification, a number of scholars (Adelman, 2001; Beaujot, 1991; CIC, 2001; Green, 1996; Hawkins, 1989, 1991; Passaris, 1989; Potter, 1999; Reitz, 2002; Simmons, 1997) undertaking analysis of the developments in immigration policy have concluded that it has been characterised by tensions between two dynamics the '*nation-building statism*' and the '*demographic needs*'. The governments' management of immigration policy in accordance with a particular agenda that legitimates state action and promotes national goals aimed at benefiting the state is regard as nation-building statism (Adelman, 2001: 22-23). Passaris (1989) asserts that in this context multi-cultural and multi-linguistic society presents a unique economic resource for trade, international links, tourism and technological transfer. Since Canada is perceived as a country that is young, rich and has not yet achieved its full development (Simmons, 1997; Reitz, 2002; Weinfeld, 1988) there are still references made to its pressing demographic needs to: i) increase population to offset ongoing low birth rate; ii) decrease age composition; iii) obtain younger workforce, and iv) more recently meet demands for knowledge economy and skilled workforce (Hawkins, 1989; Potter 1999). In view of this, Canada's main challenge with setting immigration policy has been how to manage national diversity in order to produce a richer and more flexible social structure (Taylor, 1995). It is this historical focus on demographic growth, which validates Canada's enduring but contested nation-building agenda.

4.3.1 'Top down' Approach to Immigration

According to Hawkins (1991: 248), although Canada is a democratic country, its national immigration policies are executed in a top-down manner whereby the Federal government for the most part makes decisions irrespective of public views. This is primarily related to the flexibility built into the *Immigration Act*. The Act's broad definition permits extensive admissions control powers to Cabinet members who may implement policies through specific orders-in-council rather than through public scrutiny. It is worth mentioning that the Canadian government has used such flexibility to generate alternating periods of large inflows targeted at specific economic goals and drastic intake cutbacks when there has been an economic downturn.

In view of the above, immigration policy has been criticised for not reflecting the public's wishes. Regardless, most members of the public in Canada do not have enough information about immigration intake, distribution or source countries to make a reasonable judgement. As a result, the state of public opinion concerning immigration is very difficult to assess. Nevertheless, to date the available polls and research evidence of discrimination against racialised groups in employment, housing, and other areas; combined with the integration barriers experienced by migrants portray a defined consensus. They indicate that the majority are not accepting of migrants and tend to possess monocultural ideals that block migrant integration and encourage discrimination. For instance, according to '*Metropolis.net*' there are indications that the growing unpopularity of immigration in Ontario is related to the large numbers received.[75]

Moreover, although public views on the services provided to migrants and on the costs associated with the provision of these services influence policy, they are largely ignored when it comes to setting the annual immigration levels, overall admissions, and the treatment of refugees. This may be partly because there are differences of interests and

---

[75] Metropolis Conversation Series, '*Absorptive Capacity*', (http://canada.metropolis.net/events/conversation/conversation_1.html, accessed date 23/08/06).

opinion amongst the public on issues related to immigrants and refugees (Hawkins, 1991). Nevertheless, most Canadians generally acknowledge that immigration continues to have a role in Canada's future economic and cultural development. They also agree that the government has a duty to act in order to enhance or expand the absorptive capacity. Absorptive capacity is not static and fixed and is often reflective of the existing public policy (*Metropolis.net*). Consequently, they accept that immigration intake should be influenced by factors, which include the state of Canada's economy; public attitudes towards immigration and cultural change, and public's willingness to support the complex programs that are needed to integrate newcomers.

The policy has been criticised for failing to meet alleged Federal objectives. According to Green and Green (1999: 448), the government is aiming to achieve eight objectives through immigration: "i) Fill occupational gaps; ii) Expand human capital; iii) Meet regional needs; iv) Generate investment; v) Increase trade flows; vi) Alter the age structure of the population; viii) Increase flexibility, and ix) Increase returns to scale/'*economies of scale*'— the increase of per capita income through increase in population.

However, it is worth mentioning that thus far, Canada has not been able to detect gaps within the labour market in a reliable manner (*The Maytree Foundation,* 2001; *ECC,* 1991). Therefore, Green and Green (1999: 448) question the logic in using immigration to achieve the short-term economic goal of filling labour market gaps. They assume the use of skills imported from outside Canada creates competition within the Canadian education system through discouraging local training.

Moreover, Green and Green (1996: 3-4) claim that historically there has been an ongoing conflict between short and long-term goals of the policy. The long-term goals focus on the demographic impacts of immigration. They particularly refer to using immigration to generate population and economic growth. Conversely, the short-term goals have involved the micro-management of the immigration inflow to reflect the current labour market demands. These conflicts are often seen as trade-offs between the "*quantity*" and the "*quality*" of the immigration inflow.

Concerning quantity targets, it has already been mentioned that currently Canada is aiming to have an intake of "1%" of its national population by 2015. According to CIC (*Facts & Figures*, 2004), Canada needs high level of immigrant intake to stimulate Canada's economy and maintain acceptable national economic standards. More specifically the justifications comprise of stopping the alleged:

Ageing population: According to Boyd (2005: 3) "*Immigration is often viewed as a vehicle that either "youngs" the overall population or at least retards the aging of a population*". However, he claims numerous studies including those conducted in the *United Nations Population Division* show that immigration has weak effects on the average age of any population. According to CIC (2001a), "[Migrants'] *average age at entry is only marginally (one to two years) below the average age of the Canadian population. Currently Canada does not control the age of migrants entering through the family, refugee, and humanitarian categories. Therefore, immigration has virtually no effect on the age structure of the population.*" At current levels of immigration, even if the age of immigrants at landing is reduced, it will only marginally affect the age structure of the population (Boyd, 2005; *Statistics Canada*, 2001d).

Aging workforce: Although aging workforce is not unique, Canada has a distinctive large baby-boom generation. As a result, Canada's pressing demographic needs may be seen as a reflection of its concerns for the future rapid exit of these individuals from the labour market. According to *Statistics Canada* (*The Daily*, 2003), the average age of the labour force has risen from 37.1 years in 1991 to 39.0 years in 2001. Those aged 37 to 55 in 2001, made up 47% of the labour force. By 2011, it is estimated that half of the population will be 55 or over, and 18% of them will be over the age of 60.[76] According to CIC (*The Monitor*, 2003), Census 2001 indicates that recent migrants were much more likely to be among the working-age population. "*67% were between 25 and 64 years old, compared to only 52% of the non-immigrant population. The remaining 33% were more likely to be over 65 years but less likely to be under 24*".

[76] *Statistics Canada*, The Daily (http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030211/d030211a.htm, accessed date 30/08/06).

Low birth rate and longer life expectancy: *Statistics Canada* (*The Daily*, 2003) claims that Canada's fertility rates have remained low for the last three decades. This means fewer young people are entering the working-age population to replace those nearing retirement. For instance in 2001, there were 2.7 labour force participants aged 20 to 34 for every one aged 55 and over, down from 3.7 in 1981. In the next decade, low birth rate and longer life expectancy are assumed to contribute to the expansion of population in the age group 65 and over.

Demands from knowledge economy: Shortages in certain occupations are assumed an outcome of labour demands for workers with higher levels of education. The increase in the share of older age educators is hypothesised to lead to shortages in certain occupations (ECC, 1991: 31-32).

However, Beaujot and Matthews (2000) assert that Canada's concern with the demographic aspects of immigration and migrant integration is misplaced, given that it has no population policy, no clear demographic goals and/or official target regarding population size, rate of growth, age/sex composition of the population, and regional distribution. In fact, because of the complexities involved in setting an official population policy and targets, very few immigrant-receiving countries have attempted to set approach and objectives concerning immigration intake (Adelman, 2001: 5). Moreover, it ought to be noted that given the concentration in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver high level of immigration according to Boyd (2005) may bring dislocation, greater pockets of poverty and crime, and a strong need for support services.

At a technical level, the demarcation within current immigration categories (*i.e.* Family class; Economic class—comprising of Skilled Worker, Independent and Business class[77], and Refugee class) have been criticised for being complicated. The 1970s shift

[77] The business class is relatively small (13,645 in 2000) and is geared to those who can invest in or establish businesses in Canada. Business immigrants include investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed immigrants. Selection criteria vary for each category. Investors must invest a minimum amount ($400 000) in approved projects in Canada and have a minimum net worth of $800 000. Entrepreneurs must establish or buy a business in Canada that contributes to the Canadian economy and creates one or more jobs in Canada in addition to the jobs created for the entrepreneur and family.

in source countries as well as *ad hoc* use of such categorisation by migrants has meant it is not practical in application. Owing to the lengthy immigration application processing procedures, migrants often enter Canada through fastest and less costly roots depending on the social, political, and economical conditions they are leaving behind. As a result, FTP migrants are increasingly opting to enter Canada as convention and/or refugee claimants. The analysis of the empirical data for this research draws attention to this phenomenon by exemplifying the personal experiences of a few FTP migrants from Colombia and other South American countries who had entered Canada in early 2000. These FTP migrants had chosen to claim refugee status rather than independently immigrant in order to escape the social and political conditions they were experiencing in their country of origin (For details refer to Chapter 8.2.2).

Lastly, Green and Green (1999: 26-31) believe that most of Canada's economic goals would be achieved more efficiently be achieved by other means than through immigration. The national immigration economic goals of economies of scale were estimated by ECC in 1991 and the results indicated that the doubling of population would only increase the per capita income by 5%. In support of this, Green and Green assert that the per capita income increases further through trade than through population growth.

4.3.2 Canada's Absorptive Capacity

To date, the absorptive capacity of Canada is one of the least analysed aspects of the immigration policy. The review of literature in the field of immigration postulates that the determination of an appropriate immigration level and its composition in Canada has generally been a political question (Foot, 1994; Simmons, 1992; Stafford, 1994).

Self-employed applicants must be able to establish or buy a business in Canada, which will provide employment for them and will make an economic or cultural contribution to Canada (*The Maytree Foundation Forum*, 2001: 7).

Although research provides some indication regarding the past, the political community at any point in time decides what it wants for its future and how immigration is to figure in that social vision. According to Adelman (2001: 20), although there is a widespread support for the proper management of newcomers, immigration and refugee policy is often influenced by electoral cycles. Therefore, concentration is often diverted on factors that will have an immediate impact. Consequently, there is less of an incentive to deal with the long-term policy issues. Even though there is a universal recognition that migrant receiving, countries should appreciate the capacity limitations within their society (*i.e.* structure and culture) and there has been acknowledgement of the need to limit the number of migrant intake, these limits are still unknown in Canada.

The literature available highlights that there is generally a relationship between the numbers of migrants admitted into the country and the speed and ease of their integration into the structure, culture, and identity of the society (Fleras & Elliott, 2003; Reitz, 2001). However, the ideal rate of migrant absorption depends on the ability of the state's economy to integrate them within its labour market (Refer to section 2.4.3). Since periods of rising unemployment has a declining effect on the absorptive capacity for new migrants and this phenomenon is reversed as the domestic labour market tightens; it may be hypothesised that macroeconomic changes rather than absorptive capacity ought to be considered in setting immigration policy and immigrant intake targets. Moreover, according to Collacott (2001b), Canadian immigration policy appears to be driven by the well-intentioned but possibly mistaken belief that increasing the size of Canada's population will make it bigger and better. Likewise, a strong case for immigration is made in terms of socio-cultural diversity and contact with a multi-cultural trans-national world (Reitz, 1998b; 2001b). To date, Canada's absorptive capacity is one of the least analysed aspects of the immigration policy. Therefore, currently it is not properly assessed in setting the annual immigration quota. Fleras and Elliott (2003: 269) suppose that the vulnerability of Canada's economy and the fragility of its social and cultural fabric dictate against existing high immigration.

4.3.3 Geographic Distribution of Immigrants

For many decades, immigration has been predominantly an urban phenomenon in Canada, and this continues to be the case (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003; Schellenberg, 2004). For instance, according to Schellenberg (2004: 11) in 2001 of all immigrants who had arrived in Canada over the previous ten years, 94% resided in a CMA and only 6% resided in smaller cities, towns or in rural areas. A recent study by Kazemipur and Halli (2000) found that larger urban centres—Montreal, Winnipeg, Quebec City, Toronto, Saskatoon, Regina and Vancouver had large concentrations of racialised immigrants in neighbourhoods with a poverty rate of 40% and higher.

While there are healthy debates about the positive and negative impacts of the concentration of various ethno-racial communities in particular neighbourhoods, there is no doubt that concentration in neighbourhoods of poverty acts as a barrier to the social and economic integration of new migrants and their children. Kazemipur and Halli (2000) have pointed out that new migrants living in areas with a concentrated level of poverty may experience family conflicts, loss of self-esteem, and a sense of despair about future prospects in the new country of settlement. Moreover, Mwarigha (2002: 16) asserts that over time the lack of social integration and alienation of migrants; what he labels as "*no man's land culture*" if not addressed adequately can lead to desperation and the type of social disorders seen recently in the United Kingdom and Europe.

CIC's *Facts & Figures* 2004 table [Refer to Appendix 10] illustrates Canada's migrant population by province and urban areas. This table clearly presents the dispersal of migrants to secondary cities. The table shows that in 1995 the top five migrant receiving urban areas were Toronto 44.9%, Ottawa 2.7%, Hamilton 1.3%, Kitchener 1.1%, and London at 0.9%. While in 2004, these rates had changed respectively to 42.4%, 2.7%, 1.7%, 1.2%, and 1.0%.

Recently there has been a growing interest in a more balanced geographic distribution of migrants [Refer to section 1.3 for the detailed review]. According to CIC (2001: 5), this has stemmed from a number of developments:

- ***"Increasing concentration of migrants in the three largest cities has effected the capacity of these cities to accommodate migrants as the flow of migrants has been at high levels for fifteen years***

- ***Increasing involvement of the provinces in the selection of migrants because of growing interest in sharing in the perceived benefits of immigration, together with concern about out-migration and the size of the population in some of the smaller provinces***

- ***Increasing emphasis on the size and quality of the labour force as a prerequisite for economic development."***

The appeal of immigration is clearly that it may be a way of generating population growth. For Canada's slower-growth regions, increasing the share of migrants is a way of offsetting out-migration. However, just attracting migrants is not enough. Migrants often behave like the region's population and leave the region unless they find opportunities. According to CIC (2001), the refugees' pattern of settlement is the most geographically dispersed of all categories of migrants. This is primarily associated with availability of settlement services provided by CBOs.

Although in Canada, there are regional differences in the desire to receive migrants the Canadian government for the most part has not tried to influence the choice of destination and secondary migration of individuals. At present, only large centres such as Toronto and Vancouver have the necessary social infrastructure and resources to assist in integration of migrants. CIC has noted that many of the problems associated with immigration are borne at the local and regional levels.

In view of the vast differences in economic growth and employment opportunities among Canada's regions, CIC has had the challenge of matching the immigration inflow with the opportunities in Canada. According to *Statistics Canada* (LSIC, 2003b: 13-14) although the reasons for settling in different areas of the country varies by migrants' admission class, generally four out of ten 41% migrants choose to locate in a

given CMA based on having a spouse, partner or other family member. Another 18% chose the area based on having friends. In fact, three-quarters of migrants had kin or a network of friends in the region where they chose to live. The second most important reason behind destination choice was the prospect of a job, which was cited by 14% of migrants. Close to 5% made their decision based on education prospects, 5% on lifestyle criteria, and 4% on housing [Refer to Table 3 for details].

Table 3: The Five Most Important Reasons Principal Applicants in the Economic Class Chose to Settle in Toronto, Vancouver, or Montréal, 2001

Toronto	**(%)**
Family or friends	49.7
Job prospects	23.4
Lifestyle	4.9
Housing	4.9
Many people from the same ethnic group living there	4.6
Vancouver	
Family or friends	41.3
Climate	20.0
Lifestyle	11.7
Education prospects	7.0
Job prospects	6.1E
Montréal	
Family or friends	31.3
Language	18.5
Job prospects	15.8
Education prospects	10.1
Lifestyle	8.3
All other CMAs and non-CMAs	
Family or friends	35.6
Job prospects	32.3
Education prospects	12.1
Lifestyle	5.6
Business prospects	5.5

*Note: According to Statistics Canada 'E' stands for use with caution.

Source: LSIC, 2001 *in* Statistics Canada (2003b: 15) [http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/89-611-XIE2003001.pdf, accessed date 10/08/05].

It is important to note that the government's efforts in having provincial and municipal governments and the private, regulated, and voluntary sector players involved in defining the levels of immigration and setting the infrastructure for integration has been very slow. Nevertheless, regional and local governments are beginning to play a role in immigration through recently developed dispersal policies. For instance, almost all provinces have a migrant nominee program, which allow provinces to nominate a number (100-200 per year) of migrants, based on provincial labour market needs.

However, this program is not widely used by migrants. In 2000, 1249 skilled workers immigrated to Canada as provincial nominees (*The Maytree Foundation Forum*, 2001: 10).

4.3.4 Deceitful Nature of the Points-based Immigration Policy

As it has been mentioned, the federal government's rationale behind a focus on independent class migrants within the immigration policy has been based on these migrants' proven propensity to integrate better and faster within the host country (Alba & Nee, 1997). However, the extent to which FTP migrants are permitted to integrate despite their established ability is arguable in Canada (Krau, 1991: 67).

Although all countries are eager to receive highly skilled and professional migrants to enhance their labour force and pursue export-led growth, Canada is particularly well placed to take advantage of this dynamism. According to Reitz (1998; 2001) Canada's prosperity or in other words good standard of living, established social and political stability as well as multicultural policy that supposes acceptance of diversity, gives migrants an impression that there are a great deal of opportunities to be gained through migration.[78] Whilst the integration experiences of recent migrants emphasise numerous preventable social, economic and cultural barriers encountered post-migration, which question Canada's proclaimed status as 'the land of opportunities'. In fact, the Canadian immigration policy reinforces this pretence by merely attracting FTP migrants through the point selection system, which assigns points to migrants based on assessment of their suitability. Canada does not have systemic strategy to socially and economically integrate migrants. Some critics see such deficiency a consequence of an existing

[78] According to OECD (2001) in comparison to world's standard, Canada's standard of living is high. In 2001, Canada was the seventh highest-ranking country in terms of real income per capita according to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (http://www.econ.umn.edu/~kortum/courses/0101081e.pdf, accessed date 26/03/07).

communication gap between different levels of the government (Federal, Provincial, and Municipal). At present, the Federal government sets the national targets and policies concerning immigration often without consideration of the labour, education, social, cultural and settlement needs of these migrants. Therefore, it is surprising how Canada has managed to sustain its national immigration strategy with high immigration intake without a national settlement or employment policy and strategy to match.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Through a historical account of developments in Canadian immigration policy, this chapter drew attention to the immigration policy context in Canada. The discussions within the chapter illustrated how the policy is working in reality and drew attention to whether Canada actually needs as many immigrants as it claims it does. This chapter highlighted the main deficiencies of the current immigration policy (consideration of Canada's absorptive capacity, geographic distribution of migrants, and seduction and abandonment element of the policy) and accentuated its failures to fit with other policies such as multiculturalism principles, CHRA, current approach to provision of settlement programme, and equal opportunity policies operating in Canada.

Recent immigration policy developments have meant that selection of skilled workers focuses on transferable skills rather than previously held points-based system rooted in occupational qualifications. Since currently there is no clear indication of what skills are targeted and how they are measured, it is not viable to comment on whether or not such system would be better. However, as discussed in this chapter critics assert that the Federal government's decision to eliminate occupation-related points in the selection system may be postulated as CIC's efforts to mitigate responsibility, accountability and liability in seeking out ways to facilitate access to professions and trades for FTP migrants and refugees. There is an element of truth to such scepticism that by eliminating occupation-specific selection criterion the government will no longer be

sending the message to immigrants that acceptance into Canada implies recognition of occupational qualifications by Canadian regulators and employers. Thus, it is plausible that changing selection criterion may protect the Department from some of the blame it has received for access to professions and trades (APT). Currently, this phenomenon represents Department's great negligence of the important APT issues.

In view of the debates presented in this chapter, it becomes evident that there is a need for the Federal government of Canada to clarify its public accountability with respect to newcomer settlement. This chapter has highlighted how there is a need for all levels and departments of government to take a respective share of the overall accountability for the settlement of new migrants. The mutual liability should go beyond merely concern with provision of adequate resources and should genuinely meet meeting national immigration aims and objectives and establish a clear integration strategy. Moreover, the social, cultural, and structural barriers migrants are currently experiencing in Canada necessitate development of social indicators that would measure the effectiveness of settlement and other social service provisions; also evaluate labour market and the public institutions' capacity to combat exclusion. Since CBOs in Canada are acknowledged as playing an essential role in settlement program innovation and as advocators of migrant rights, the government of Canada should reinstate sufficient resources to CBOs that operate on the forefront of national settlement service delivery and safeguard their autonomy. Finally, there is a need to develop mechanisms that would unequivocally include the voices of leaders from the migrant communities in the definition and monitoring of the forthcoming integration policies.

CHAPTER 5

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Thus far, in accordance with Hudson and Lowe's arguments (2004) regarding the nature of social problems [For details refer to section 1.3] the review of the literature has supported the argument that there are multiple layers of factors shaping the integration barriers FTP migrants experience in Canada. Hitherto, the thesis has highlighted that a multi-level analysis is required in order to understand the nature and causes of integration barriers FTP migrants are currently experiencing. This chapter commences with the assertion of the theoretical reasoning and frameworks behind the research, and then it provides an outline of the analytical approach to the thesis. The section identifies the principle themes in migration research and draws attention to how race and ethnicity operate and construct variation in integration found amongst migrants within the Canadian society. The chapter explores Pierre Bourdieu's notion of institutionalised cultural capital as a means of social reproduction and construction of power and emphasises the significance of institutional cultural capital, status persistence, social positioning, and power dynamics in Canada. In order to make sense of the identified systemic exclusionary practices, the section concludes with an analysis of the sociology of profession and professional culture.

5.2 REFLECTIONS ON THEORETICAL REASONING

The overarching theoretical basis of this thesis was inspired by Herald Bauder's (2003) article " '*Brain Abuse', or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada*". Within this article Bauder used Pierre Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) class-reproducing theorisation and notion of institutionalised '*cultural capital*' to interpret labour market processes and barriers encountered by FTP migrants in Canada. Through application of Bourdieu's cultural capital theorisation, Bauder (2003: 699-700) uses cultural interpretation to understand institutionalised labour market processes.

According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital is forms of knowledge, skill, and education or other advantages a person has which gives them a higher status in society. He distinguished between several forms of cultural capital namely '*embodied*', '*Objectified*', and '*Institutionalised*'. Embodied cultural capital referred to styles, manners, cultural preferences and affinities, and valued types of cultural knowledge. Objectified cultural capital referred to the association of value with the consumption and appropriation of cultural goods, artefacts and goods we generally think of as cultural, such as literature, music, dance forms, art, historical sites, museums, and the like. Institutionalised cultural capital referred to institutionalised things such as academic credentials and educational qualifications and certificates that signify cultural competence through institutional sanctions and construct cultural distinction.

Bauder (2003: 669-703) claimed that the non-recognition of foreign credentials produced systemic exclusion of FTP migrant workers from the upper segments of the labour market. He used Joppke's (1986: 54) theorisation of institutionalised processes of cultural distinction to explain how social classes actively produce and are reproduced by individuals seeking distinction and social difference from other (often lower) classes and class fractions within the society. Bauder (2003: 700) claimed that institutionalised processes of cultural distinction provide an explanation for the devaluation and segmentation of migrant labour in Canada. He supposed that through biased

certification system Canadian employers systemically granted easier access to domestic-educated workers, which hindered access and even excluded FTP migrants from high-status occupations.

Evidence indicates that complex levels of global, historical, political, economic, social, cultural, and structural factors (Peck, 1996; Thompson, 2000; Samers, 1998) influence structural and institutionalised practices such as labour market exclusion, other material, and discursive practices. In order to understand the dynamics of interaction between the macro and meso level factors influencing this study, it is important to take into account the various layers of analysis needed for this research. For instance, at the macro level of analysis social activities are generally understood in terms of social processes stretched over time and space. Layder (1993) stresses those different aspects of society at particular point in time have bearing on social processes and activities. As a result, Layder claims that elements of social process ought to be viewed as a series of interwoven layers over time. In view of this, the theoretical analysis of this research has been founded on Layder's (1993: 55) '*research map*' (Refer to Table 5 for details). Since the aim of this research was to explore the underlying factors influencing societal maintenance and development of inequalities as reflected in FTP migrants' experience of integration in Canada, Layder's research map was used to identify the causal mechanisms involved.

As mentioned in Chapter one (Section 3.1), Layder's research map emphasises the multi-directional interrelationship between '*social context*', '*institutional setting*', '*situated activity*', and '*individual agency*' within the analysis of social phenomena. Within Layder's conceptualisation social context refers to large-scale society-wide features such as: Canadian culture and identity, current and past immigration history, values, multicultural ideologies, social and economic institutions, power relations, and racism in Canada. Institutional setting involves a focus on the intermediate social organisations such as: Canadian immigration institution and policy, settlement support and employment resources available, and professional self-regulating organisations. These intermediate social organisations are postulated to convey influences of the broad

macro processes such as Canadian culture, economy, and race relations, which in turn influence social practices and over time reproduce particular social relations (P. 89-98).

The situated activity concentrates on the dynamics of social interaction and exposes the nature of the social involvement and the resultant interactions. It draws attention to the emergence of meaning, shared understandings, and definitions of the situation as they affect and are affected by context and settings, and subjective dispositions of individuals. Layder stresses that through this level of analysis the researcher is able to: i) examine the recurrent features of behaviour and interaction over time, ii) understand the social function they serve, and iii) explore the manner in which the activities facilitate the construction of the social problem being explored (P. 80-88). Individual agency primarily refers to the individual's relation to her/his social environment, which within this research comprises migrants' social experiences and notions of self-identity. Therefore, this level of analysis concentrates on how an individual is affected by and responds to social situations they encounter (P. 74-80).

Layder's research map is practical in enabling the researcher to determine where their primary focus of analysis lies for instance at or between one and or two of the above-mentioned levels. The map also assists in acknowledgement of the relationship between the primary focus and other levels of analysis. Within this thesis, the primary focus is on the individual level and the relationship between the individual and the situated activity. Hence, social context and institutional setting are important as far as they influence individual migrants' experience. Layder's map helps draw attention to Canada's:

<u>Social context</u>:

- Culture and identity
- Current and past immigration
- Race relations, and
- Societal prevalence of racism

<u>Institutional setting</u>:

- Historical developments in Canadian immigration policy
- Multiculturalism ideologies

At meso and micro level of analysis, Layder's analytical framework may be used to draw attention to the situated activity and individual agency influencing this study.

Situated activity:

i) Immigrant *vs.* Canadian societal differentiation regarding:

- Canadian *vs.* immigrant recognition of qualification and work experience, and
- Institutional factors influencing practice such as Canadian Federal government's judgment of its labour demand and the extent to which professional organisations institutionally assimilate FTP migrants

ii) Federal government's effort to integrate immigrants through direct labour market integration and measures it has taken to facilitate social and cultural integration of immigrants

Individual agency:

- The outcome of the integration experience of the migrants is supported and justified through analysis and interpretation of the subjective experience of FTP participants

It is important to note that the above integrating themes are linked through history and power, which hold the various levels of analysis together. History is important within this study because of its particular focus on the period of immigration and the policies that prevailed at that time. Whilst power is reflected in the context (*e.g.* Canada's race relations), the setting of immigration policies, and the situated activity of living in a multicultural society and socially and institutionally exclude immigrants (*i.e.* not recognising foreign qualifications) [Refer to section 5.3.2 for details]. On the individual level, the empirical evidence of this study shows the way in which individuals in any circumstance are always able to exercise certain level of power. For instance, some FTP migrants within the sample used the refugee route because it was faster [Refer to section 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 for details].

5.3 ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO THESIS

The review of the literature highlighted how the Federal government of Canada through its national policies such as multiculturalism, immigration policy, and equal opportunity policies has created false consciousness. In fact, the Federal government has actively either camouflaged the real source of exploitation through application of cultural and unpractical solutions for deeply rooted structural problems or has created the illusion of progressive change without really disrupting the existing societal status quo.

The remainder of this chapter examines: i) how race and ethnicity is theorised within the Canadian context and the way in which it operates within the society; ii) through examination of Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) notions of 'capital', 'social space', 'habitus' and 'social field of distinction' labour is theorised as institutionally regulated and socially reproduced, and iii) Larson's (1977) theorisation of '*professional project*' will be drawn on in order to make sense of the reasons professions universally use exclusionary practices which reinforce existing inequality and discrimination in Canada. The chapter concludes by highlighting how all of the above explanations have a major bearing on the extent to which FTP migrants are permitted to participate within the Canadian labour market.

5.3.1 Principle Themes Within the Migration Research

Migration research has generally centred on three major themes: a) studies of the initial migration decision for instance push-pull factors, b) studies of migrant assimilation, integration, adaptation, and acculturation, c) consequences of emigration for the sending and receiving communities and regions. However, these three themes have nearly

always been studied separately within the available literature. The following section will explain how the themes are applied within this research.

Within the field of integration, economic factors have been recognised as the prime determinant of international population movement on a macro scale and of individual well-being on a micro scale. Economic theorists allege that migrants' assimilation is influenced by the characteristics of the home country, the migration motive, migrants' individual human capital, and the expected migration duration (Akbari, 1999; Bauer & Zimmermann, 1998; George & Tsang, 1998; Friedberg, 2000; Potter, 1999; Sanders & Nee, 1996; Wastl-Walter, Varadi & Veider, 2003; Zong, 2004). These theorists claim that economic development similarities between migrant sending and receiving countries have a bearing on how rapidly those who migrate can assimilate within the host society. Generally, individuals who migrate because of economic reasons and those intending to permanently settle in the host society are expected to assimilate faster than non-economic and temporary migrants (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1998; Bauer, Lofstrom & Zimmermann, 2001).

The review of the literature has also drawn attention to the way in which other components of integration such as the political, cultural, and social follow from migrants' economic state within the host society. In view of this, most Canadian migration and integration studies have particularly focused on fiscal factors (Boyd, 2001; Lo, 2000; Picot, 2004; Reitz, 1998a, b). These studies have predominantly compared recent migrants' earnings with racialised nationals and the Canadian-born population and have deemed the outcome as an objective indicator of migrants' overall integration (Badets, 1999; DeSilva, 1997; Duleep, 1997; Harvey, 2001; Lian 1998; Pendakur, 1998 to name a few). Within these studies, customarily, migrants who have equivalent or higher employment rates or incomes, or equivalent or lower rates of social assistance have been perceived as 'integrated'.

However, although these studies acknowledge the importance of the labour market inequality, they do not always take account of how earnings do not equate with professional status. They also disregard how subjective and objective measures of

economic success are not necessarily highly correlated. Consequently, they often overlook migrants' subjective assessment of their level of integration. This research contributes to the existing body of knowledge by attempting to fill this gap in empirical research.

5.3.2 Canadian Notions of Race and Ethnicity

In order to understand existing variations in the level of integration found between different immigrants it is important to examine how race and ethnicity operate within the Canadian society. Such investigation inevitably draws attention to the Canadian social values and the extent in which the notion of Canadian national identity influences attitudes towards immigrants and refugees. This section explores how race and ethnicity is theorised in Canada.

Canada's race and ethnic relations is identified as relations of inequality in which references to race and ethnicity are not simply descriptive categories of differences, on the contrary, they entail relations of inequality that are inseparable from patterns of power and hierarchy that already exist within the society. These constructed, unequal relations are product of the wider political and economic context in Canada, which sustains the structural arrangements that deny, control, or exploit the racialised groups. Therefore, racialised groups have become subordinate not because of race but because they lack power along racialised lines and lack access to the societal institutionalised power.

Generally, race is commonly perceived as an attribute assigned by those with the power to impose and mediate such labels and social hierarchies. It is also commonly acknowledged that those in positions of power act against racist behaviour in society only when it benefits them. According to Peak and Ray (2001: 181), the power behind racism is expressed in several ways. Firstly, it originates from dominant/subordinate

interaction, secondly it is embedded within the institutional framework of the society in question, thirdly it is reinforced by a system of ideas and ideals, and lastly the state perpetuate it. Consequently, racism is ultimately based on patterns of power involving relations of dominance, control, and exploitation. Therefore, racism is fundamentally about power and not about differences *per se*. According to Fleras and Elliott (2003: 34), since social and cultural relations are often defined by reference to race, it is more accurate to speak of relationships that have been 'racialised' rather than race relations. They assert that racialisation at present is generally conceptualised as a process involving an imposition by the powerful on certain groups or activities. Consequently, racialisation is a result of a dialectical process of classification whereby biological significance is assigned to certain patterns of behaviour or activities that overtime become linked with race. This in turn plays a part in labelling and stigmatising racialised ethnic groups and serves as an explanation for existing differences and disadvantages in Canada.

In view of this, the definition of racism must go beyond a personal ideology based on race prejudice and ought to focus on a system of disadvantage established on institutional power and cultural values. It needs to be anchored around the belief in the inherent superiority of one ethnic group over another with a corresponding power to exclude or exploit. As a result, it may be argued that racism is the force behind racialised immigrants' exclusion from the Canadian labour force rather than their lack of individual human capital.

CRRF (2001) makes three distinctions concerning racism. First, racism can be differentiated in terms of whether it is overt or covert. At the individual level, racism refers to behaviour and thought expressed by individuals that discriminate against other groups characterised by race. It can be manifested in both open and covert forms, including hostile behaviour and racial slurs, on the one hand, and more concealed behaviour and thoughts on the other hand, the effects of which may be unintended. Second, at the institutional level, racism entails a set of rules and practices enforced by institutions with the candid intent to exclude certain groups from full participation in society. Third, systemic racism comprises of a set of embedded practices, taking

normative characteristics and built into the institutional framework that inadvertently denies a group, usually a racialised individual, full participation in the organisation. Institutional standards, rules, and rewards may appear to be universally applicable and colour-blind, however they may reinforce the dominant racial hierarchy (Adelman, 2001; Darroch, 1979; Hagendoorn, 1995; Lautard & Guppy, 1990; Lian & Matthews, 1998; Porter, 1979).

Institutional racism refers to the process by which organisational practices and procedures discriminate against racialised ethnic groups. It refers to the rules, procedures, rewards, and practices that have the systematic intent or systemic effect of excluding of exploiting visible minorities because of who they are, how they live, and what they do. According to Fleras and Elliott (2003: 71), systemic racism is entrenched within the structure, function, and processes of social institutions. The '*one-size-fits all*' mentality Canadian social institutions uphold [Refer to section 3.2 for details] has the unintended but real effect of excluding those who require customised treatment because of cultural differences or social disadvantages. This discussion is strongly linked to Layder's levels of analysis.

Nevertheless, it ought to be noted that policies, rules, priorities, and programs are often not inherently racist or deliberately discriminatory. According to Fleras and Elliott (2003: 71), racism is embedded within capitalist society by way of social, economic, and political institutions and practices. Institutions become systemically racist when they overlook how their organisational practices and structures reflect and reinforce White-European experiences as natural, standard, and indispensable. Therefore, racism often thrives inadvertently through privileging Eurocentric norms, values, practices, and institutions as essential and superior, which relegates minority experiences as unworthy.

Moreover, it is commonly acknowledged that the pursuit of profit often conflicts with the promotion of social values related to diversity, inclusion, and equality. Whilst attempting to understand the current racialisation and class stratification in Canada, from the above discussions it is evident that racism theorisation fits well as additional layer of cultural and societal justification for notions of institutional cultural capital

theory offered by Bourdieu (1984). Pierre Bourdieu's theorisation is useful in highlighting the way in which societal perceptions and practices are socially constructed and are maintained structurally and institutionally through notions of permissible levels of human and social capital.

The following section will focus on institutional regulation of labour and Bourdieu's theorisation.

5.3.3 Institutional Regulation of Labour

According to Bauder (2003: 700), regulatory institutions in Canada are the site where "*Various material and discursive as well as economic, social and cultural forces of segmentation converge*". This section focuses on making sense of Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) class-reproducing mechanisms addressed by Bauder and explores: i) the central notions of '*capital*' and its many forms (*i.e. economic*, *cultural*, *social,* and *symbolic*); ii) notions of '*social space'* referring to the relationship between social structures; iii) '*habitus*' referring to the schemes of perception, thought and action determined by the formal context the '*field*' in which different forms of capital are assigned a particular value, and iv) '*social field of distinction'* referring to the social structures that result in categorisation of various social groups in classes.

Pierre Bourdieu traced the embeddedness of social practice such as individual behaviour within social relations particularly power and class relations. Bourdieu was primarily interested in determining different groups' potential for transformation within actual social arrangements. He identified that within the modern society educational system, for instance acquisition of academic and professional degree was often used as the mechanism for reproduction of classes (Bourdieu, 1984). However, he emphasised that this dialectic relation between structure and agency and the resultant position-taking is adaptive and relational rather than intentional (Bourdieu, 1989: 14). He argued that

"*Those aspiring to or holding a position may have an interest in defining* [their position] *in such a way that it cannot be occupied by anyone other than the possessors of properties identical to their own*" (1984: 151). In view of Bourdieu's theorisation, the difficulties FTP migrants encounter with the recognition of their foreign credentials may be interpreted as a systematic process of labour-market exclusion intended to facilitate the reproduction of the existing professional classes in Canada.

Accordingly, it may be hypothesised that Canadian professional organizations, regularly supported by federal and provincial legislation, enforce the reproduction of their members through the differential treatment of foreign and racialised ethnic groups and mainstream Canadian-educated workers. As already mentioned, the additional requirements for the recognition of professional credentials such as permanent resident status in the province and the compulsory Canadian work experience tend to further disadvantage FTP migrants in Canada. Moreover, since many regulatory bodies are not set up to assess foreign credentials prior to migrants' arrival in Canada, it becomes impossible for migrants to base their decision to immigrate to Canada on the assessment of the degree of devaluation they might experience prior to immigration. Bauder (2003: 702) emphasises that the institutional negligence of such phenomenon is reflected in the lack of records and monitoring of the precise number of Canadian migrants who fail the assessment of their credentials. Furthermore, individual studies in different provinces suggest that less than half of the migrants in regulated occupations manage to obtain Canadian accreditation, and among foreign-educated medical doctors the proportion is even as low as 5%. In the latter case, according to Basran and Zong (1998: 12) the unavailability of required internship positions has been highlighted as a major contributing factor. However, although some regulators allow foreign-educated Canadians to work without certification, they do so only in subordinate positions. For instance according to CICIC (2002) non-registered engineers are allowed to practice under the supervision of a licensed engineer. Thus, foreign-educated engineers, who cannot be immediately certified, are subordinated to Canadian-educated engineers for whom certification process is generally easier. However, within non-regulated occupations employers tend to assess the suitability of applicants on an individual basis.

Collins (1979: 131-181) asserts that professional groups including medicine, law and engineering are cultural communities that engage in practices of cultural inclusion and exclusion to ensure their own reproduction. The entry requirements to these communities are controlled by a critical infrastructure consisting largely of professional associations often supported by the state and corporate management, which function as the gatekeepers of the profession and define entry qualifications according to their own cultural biases and agendas. These professional associations have an interest in defining the entry requirements in such a manner that newly arrived migrants are excluded. This objective is achieved through recognition of credentials obtained in Canada and the devaluation of credentials attained elsewhere. Hence, according to Shuval (2000: 193) sociologists view professions as groups engaged in a political process by which various occupations compete over jurisdiction, skill, earning, work autonomy, and strategic control over a body of knowledge or expertise. Using migrant physicians as an example, Shuval highlights how the exclusivity of the control of knowledge is the principal factor providing professionals such as physicians with power and authority. Among the critical dimensions of professional power, physician's exercise control of the market through licensing mechanisms, which determines the boundaries of legitimate practice, the supply of personnel, entry criterion, and rates of entry of new practitioners into the field. Therefore, it is not surprising that such controls are in many cases applied by local professionals to migrant co-professionals who seek to practise in their society. She highlights how since the end of 1990s established practitioners in medical occupations have been frequently unwilling to accept retrained physicians as colleagues. Consequently, when migrant physicians succeed in obtaining a license to practice, the posts available to them are either in low-status positions, less desired specialities, geographical regions, or social settings; generally those that are avoided or deemed unacceptable by locally trained doctors (*Ibid.*). However, in their effort to retain their professional identity, migrant doctors are known to frequently accept the less desirable positions. As it was theorised earlier (Chapters 2 and 3) such dual labour market creates a permanent structural need for migrant physicians since locally trained doctors are unwilling to accept the least desirable jobs within the profession. Nevertheless, Pratt (1999) maintains that such occurrence does not mean that the critical infrastructure is necessarily confined to the economic elite, more accurately it stretches into all segments

of the labour market and society that participate in the discursive construction of the 'other'. Accordingly, the Canadian employers generally prefer local professionals.

Bourdieu's class relation theorisation (Bourdieu, 1987) could be used as explanation of the regulated professional organisations' cultural exclusionary practices. Bourdieu's class relation theorisation stemmed from his structuralist presuppositions that the identity of a particular structure can only be tenable by its denial of all other structures and not solely by its own internal qualities. His class relations takes the meaning of principally unconscious group activities that strive to maintain or to break down the objective distances between them by means of the symbolic struggle for distinction. Here distinction refers to social groups' endeavours to differentiate, hence class relations refers to practices, which secure and affirm implicit group identities.

Bourdieu maintained that poor achievement for some groups (and or success for others) in a society is not always inherent in cultural difference *per se* but it could also be an artefact of the way social institutions operate. According to Bourdieu, individuals and social groups often use cultural capital or cultural knowledge as a resource of power to improve their position within the social class structures. Bourdieu (1989) established that the acquisition of cultural capital was a prerequisite for the symbolic appropriation of capital, which he postulated is objectified and institutionalised through various structural means such as educational degrees. As maintained by Bourdieu, those with the appropriate cultural capital are reinforced with success while others are not. In order to convert qualifications into social and economic capital, the individual must also be the possessor of an appropriate amount of symbolic capital for instance prestige, reputation and social capital (Bourdieu, 1989). He claimed that although all forms of capital were convertible into symbolic capital they were only derivable from the habitus of the dominant elite, which can only be legitimately acquired through the institutions themselves. In his theory, the double disposition of cultural capital—as partly incorporated and partly institutionalised resource for individual actors and social groups is alleged to function as a means of support for their strategic positioning in the struggle for wealth, status, and power.

As follows, the structure of social classes are theorised by Bourdieu as the foundation of the symbolic classification system in which class boundaries are conceptualised objectively in the class-members' relations toward the material means of production. Hence, social classes are actively produced and reproduced by the individuals seeking for distinction. In this manner, the structure of the society is specified by the distribution of the various forms of power or capital, capable of bestowing strength and power to the holder (Bourdieu, 1987: 4).

Moreover, Bourdieu (1989: 18) maintains that construction of social space plays a factor in how individuals formulate their point of views. He claims that individual's point of view is taken from a certain point in time and from a determinate position within a social space. Since the vision that every agent has of the space depends on his or her position in that space, it can be held that there are different or even antagonistic points of view about any subject matter. His notion of 'habitus' and institutionalised cultural capital further implies this sense of one's place and of the place of others in the structure. As follows, every exercise of power is accompanied by a discourse aimed at legitimising the power of the group that exercise it. Therefore, it is characteristic of every power relation to take on its full force only in so far as to disguise the fact that it is in a power relation (Bourdieu, 1992). According to him (1989: 19) in advanced societies, economic and cultural factors have the greatest power of differentiation.

Beyond the notions of economic and cultural capital Bourdieu introduced 'social capital' as another autonomous means to maximize power and rewards. Social capital comprises of membership within social groups and the profits that can be appropriated by the strategic use of social relations in order to improve one's position. He believed that social capital always functioned as symbolic capital and symbolic capital was a subjective reflection, acknowledgement, and legitimating of a given distribution of economic, cultural and social capital. In view of above discussions, in order for the racialised groups to be able to convert qualifications into social and economic capital, they must become the possessor of an appropriate amount of institutionally legitimised symbolic capital. To facilitate understanding of how symbolic capital is institutionally legitimised, Bauder's theorisation (2003) may be used.

Bauder (2003) refers to Bourdieu's concept of the field as a site where individual's struggle for distinction legitimises exclusion of those who lack the professed symbolic capital. In analytic terms, a field is defined as a "*Network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions*" (Bourdieu, 1989: 39). Bourdieu emphasises that when considering class relations and societal stratifications the relationship of the field in question to the 'field of power' in other words politics need to be recognised (*Ibid.*). He theorised the field of power as the most central domain within any society and the source of the hierarchical power relations that constructs all other fields. Field struggles in this sense are struggles over classifications, the boundaries between fields and their hierarchisation, as well as struggles over profits of distinction resulting from access to resources. He alleged that the positions people occupy in the structure is governed by their social trajectories, and the volume and composition of their established capital, which is subject to shift over time. In accordance with Bourdieu's empirical investigations, fundamental powers are economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1987).

Through the analysis of the empirical data this study attempts to make sense of the existing relationships between the variables namely migrant, racialised ethnic groups, and 'white' Anglo-European Canadian-born, employed, unemployed, and underemployed, *etc*. The analysis also draws attention to the broader structures of power and domination; the policy and political context; the nature of local labour markets and so on, and the meanings that these variables have for the individuals involved.

The next section will draw on occupational research on the sociology of professions and its exclusionary practices, which reinforce inequality and discrimination and will explore its bearing on the labour integration experiences of FTP migrants in Canada.

5.3.4 Universal Nature of Professional Culture

Max Weber (1978: 342) emphasised that society comprises of individuals in pursuit of individual interests. He claimed that based on this assertion, it may be hypothesised that at a foundation of any society there are a more or less collectively conscious groups who are bearers of ideas that legitimise the pursuit of their particular interests. In the course of furthering their interests, the resulting social groups engage in social closure and attempt to both exclude others from their group and restrict the privileges of other groups. Weber distinguished three dimensions of reward namely economic, social, and power. Groups within the society often compete for such rewards and are differentiated by the extent to which they can obtain these rewards. In view of this, the groups established within a society, generally attempt to monopolise power, and both social and economic opportunities and deny access to resources to outsiders.

According to Macdonald (1995: xii), in Weberian tradition, the concepts of 'exclusion' and 'social closure' are mechanisms whereby the social standing of a group is achieved and maintained. Consequently, the Weberaian theory is concerned with the ways in which the possessors of specialist knowledge build-up a monopoly of their knowledge and on this basis establish a monopoly of services that derive from it. However, as Macdonald highlights it ought to be noted, "*No monopoly can be obtained and guaranteed in a modern society without the active co-operation of the state— or the least, a very benign neglect*".

In view of the above, when considering FTP migrants access to regulated profession the nature of professional culture, the nature of their knowledge, the socio-cultural evaluation of this knowledge base, and the occupational strategies employed in handling it are of central importance. The qualification(s) granted by the regulated professional bodies are the entry standards set which constitute the basis for entry to these professions.

> ***"Outside the specifically scholastic market, a diploma is worth what its holder is worth, economically and socially; the rate of return on educational capital is a function of the economic and social capital that can be devoted to exploiting it."***
>
> (Bourdieu, 1984: 134)

In the above quote, Bourdieu explains that what an academic qualification guarantees is more than and even different from the right to occupy a position and the capacity to perform the corresponding job. According to Bourdieu (1984: 142), the common image of the professions takes into account not only the nature of the job and the income, but also secondary characteristics such as prestige and societal status, which is often associated with the profession's social value. Nevertheless, absent from the official job description these secondary characteristics function as age, sex, social or ethnic origin do, they overtly or implicitly channel entry and career development opportunities within the profession to favour particular individuals. As a result, these social values function to exclude or marginalise members who lack the specified traits.

Nevertheless, according to Macdonald (1995: 8), Freidson's (1970) explanation of the nature of professional prestige and the process by which it is asserted is useful. Friedson argued that the distinctive autonomy of a profession depended on the secured influence of the elite that sponsor the privileged position and the power that the state has bestowed to the profession and the elites. He emphasised that the cognitive and normative features of professions are conventionally used as elements within the definition of the professions and as the basis of arguments to establish the boundaries of its domains and the membership status. He claimed that professions strived to gain autonomy with its own distinctive niche in the existing system of social stratification in order to establish a position of social prestige independent of their original sponsoring elite. He maintained that the successful development of the cognitive and normative aspects of the profession allowed the occupation to establish its own social status as well as provide the potential for defining social reality within the field in which the profession functioned. It also granted the opportunity to use technical expertise as the basis for a claim to a universal validity for the public pronouncements. He alleged that the professions typically used their social status to define the standards by which their competence may be judged. Nevertheless, according to Cooper *et. al.* (1988: 8) in order

to achieve a monopoly and an exclusive right to licensure an occupation must have a distinctive relation with the state since the regulative bargain is strongly conditioned by the society's political culture and the existing political power network.

Building on Freidson's work, Larson (1977: 9-18) employed the term '*professional project*' in '*The Rise of Professionalism*' to explain her understanding of professionalism. She conceptualised professionalisation as an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources for instance special knowledge and skills into another for instance social and economic rewards. She claimed that the maintenance of scarcity allowed monopoly of expertise in the market and the status within the societal system of stratification. Consequently, the professional project's objective is securing, enhancement, and maintenance of the social and economic standing of its members. This in turn reinforces the inherent advantages gained which as well play a part in the maintenance of structural inequality within the society.

The literature reviewed has already highlighted how an individual's socio-economic status within the society is an important source of their self-concept. According to Hunter (1981: 99-100) status is an "*Evaluative judgements, which people make of one another and of one another's attributes, such as education, occupation, and income.* [Consequently], *social status is the evaluative judgement people make of one another as 'worthy' human beings*". As a result, according to Naidoo (1992), FTP migrants who are accepted based on their qualifications, education, and skills may be especially prone to lose their feelings of self-worth when faced with employment difficulties post migration to Canada.

It has already been mentioned, how immigration with its numerous demands, changes, and threats to the migrants' self-confidence, amplifies migrants' sensitivity towards maintaining their pre-migration occupation within the host society (Refer to section 2.4.2 for details). The processes of change within migration generally undermine migrants' sense of the self, the most urgent and profoundly felt need they experience post-migration is to re-establish a meaningful sense of identity. As a result, in accordance with Bernstein (2000: 189) it becomes evident how migrants' ability to

resume their pre-migration occupation has a strong impact on their overall adjustment, not only for economic reasons, but also because of its positive influence on self-identity. Hunt and Symonds (1995: xvi) clearly capture the effects of professional identity on professionals:

> ***"Professional identity has to be constantly reinforced and reconstructed but must always retain a referral point of recognition for the practitioners to feel a sense of security and belonging. The ways in which an occupational identity is constructed and reinforced include work practices and strategies of control, use of language and public representations of this image."***

Moreover, according to Salaf *et. al.* (2001: 9), professionals are commonly known to have a strong sense of occupational identity. Having had extensive education, they believe that their degrees represent their considerable effort. In addition, they see their accomplishments because of their human capital. Moreover, because of already mentioned mediating factors at play between employment status and mental health (Refer to Section 2.4.2 for details), research evidence have indicated that professional's commitment to their occupation affects their psychological health and well-being. As the literature review has already highlighted, the employment adversity FTP migrants experience post-migration to Canada results in acculturative stress, negative self-concept, alienation from the society, and adaptation difficulties.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Through identifying and linking conceptual bridges between the primary focus and other levels and dimensions of analysis, the following chapter has established the macro and micro level links within migration and integration process. The chapter explored the social and structural processes that maintain the recurrence of the FTP migrants' experiences, previously highlighted within the literature review. The chapter particularly highlighted how the labour integration barriers FTP migrants' encounter in

Canada is a consequence of several factors such as: the nationally disharmonious race and ethnic relations, ensuing biased institutional regulations of labour originating from the notions of race and ethnicity and existing cultural and societal racialisation, and is an outcome of the universal partiality of professional culture.

The next chapter outlines the research methods used for this study. The chapter discusses the purpose and objectives of the research, the research strategy, reflects on data collection, sample size, and parameters, interviewing process, and draws attention to variables used for analysis.

CHAPTER 6

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

> ***"Our decision about what level of precision is appropriate in relation to any particular claim should depend on the nature of what we are trying to describe, on the likely accuracy of our descriptions, on our purposes, and on the resources available to us; and not on ideological commitment to one methodological paradigm or another."***
>
> (Hammersley, 1992: 163)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have set out the conceptual and theoretical framework of the thesis. The literature highlighted how generally in Canada the empirical evidence available on immigration has been predominantly quantitative, census based, and often descriptive in nature. Moreover, the available evidence has largely been concerned with the economic success of migrants in Canada; therefore, it has obscured the cultural, social, and organisational dimensions of migrants' post-migration experience. To surmount the methodological and theoretical gaps within the field and verify claims made within this thesis, I carried-out a primary qualitative research and explored FTP migrants' integration experience in London, Ontario. The following chapter summarises the methodological approach of the study. It provides an account of the research process and the steps taken concerning data collection and analysis, and discusses the rationale for each step.

This chapter commences with an outline of the purpose and objective of the research and provides an account of the research strategy followed by the research design and the rationale for qualitative approach applied. The chapter continues with a discussion of discourses; ethical, logical, and practical considerations that influenced the

methodology and the research process; provides detailed account of recruitment and selection of participants; the interview process, and data analysis. There is then a reflection on research process, which draws attention to personal experiences encountered within the fieldwork, covering the role of researcher's identity as well as access and establishment of rapport and empathy.

6.2 THE PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis particularly interested in identifying the extent to which FTP migrants experience 'entry effect' and 'taxi driver phenomenon' and the impact of these phenomenon on their and their family's general well-being and integration within the broader society.

Hitherto, the review of literature has highlighted the need to contextualise the wider '*macro*', and '*meso*' factors influencing migrants' immigration and integration processes. The review for the most part concentrated on the critical assessment of the effectiveness of the Canadian Federal government's reliance on immigration to meet its social, economic, and demographic demands. The discussions highlighted the gaps between government's rhetoric regarding how successful Canada has been in meeting its vision through immigration and the current reality.

Since the micro level empirical evidence representing the scope of migrants' general integration experience, especially research interpreting the subjective experience of skilled migrants in Canada has been limited; the empirical research for this thesis was designed to consider the gaps within the field.

The research for this thesis was conducted using both primary and secondary research methods. Initially, a wide range of published secondary information such as government reports, official statistics, and survey studies and data were examined in order to

ascertain past and present trends in migration and immigration policy developments in Canada. In addition existing quantitative data was used to: i) enable me to select a sample in a purposive manner, ii) helped in formulation of the research questions, and iii) analyse the findings in relation to immigration developments in Canada.

Within this study, I used secondary sources such as:

- Relevant statistical data from the Canadian 2000 Census; '*Public Use Microdata File'* (PUMF)[79]; CIC publications; *International Migration Data Base* (IMDB); and statistics from the *Human Resources Development Canada* (HRDC) in order to obtain a demographic overview of the population
- Relevant local (London, Ontario) immigration statistics
- Canadian immigration policies in the past two decade
- Academic and non-academic literature and reports within the field and in related subject areas
- Academic and non-academic journal articles, Canadian newspapers, and
- Internet sources

In addition, as mentioned in the previous section primary research was also conducted with FTP migrants and relevant service providers in London, Ontario. The details of how the empirical study was carried out and the gap between original plan and practice will be discussed later in section (6.5).

In addition, the theoretical and methodological rationale used for the study made it necessary to conduct primary qualitative research that would explore recent FTP migrants' subjective accounts of their decision to migrate and their post-migration

[79] The 1996 Census PUMF contains data based on a 2.8% sample of the population enumerated in the census. It provides information on the demographic, social, and economic characteristic of the Canadian population. However, the current micro data file has information on selected census metropolitan areas, provinces, and territories. Hence, data for small geographic areas such as London, Ontario are not available. In addition, although the micro data file allows users to group and manipulate the data to suit their own requirements, the data is limited in its usability because the data presented is commonly aggregated in order to preserve confidentiality. For example, for some variables, such as ethnic origin, less detailed information is available in some geographic areas than in other areas and the data on occupations does not indicate "Physician", but rather the more general category "Occupations in Medicine and Health" which also includes other medical occupations, such as "Nursing".

integration experience. I chose an exploratory approach with an emergent as opposed to predetermined research design in order to shed light on what is a poorly understood area of migration studies. The principal research questions addressed by this research were:

- What are the subjective immigration experiences of recent FTP migrants to Canada?
- What are the subjective integration experiences of recent FTP migrants to Canada?
- What relevance do the accounts have on immigration policy developments?

The research was designed to maintain systematic discovery of theory from the interview data, therefore it comprised of scrutinising and interpretation of participants' accounts. Hence, the primary research for the study was not designed to obtain data that characterised London's migrant populations in a statistical sense, in contrast, it aimed to exemplify and illustrate the range of views, circumstances, and social relations held by the participants who migrated within the selected timeframe, from 1960s to 2002.

The primary research is based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with FTP migrants from selected professions in London, Ontario, Canada (Refer to section 6.5 for details). The semi-structured interviews were preferred because within a qualitative research this approach[80]:

- Permits researcher sensitivity with regards to sharing power and control in the line of questioning within the interviewing process
- Allows respondents the opportunity to reflect on their experiences and talk about factors which they perceived as imperative within their experience of integration in Canada
- Allows emergence of new themes as opposed to predetermined research design
- Encourages depth within discussions in areas that are important to the participants

[80] Refer to Appendix 17 and 18 for the interview topic guides.

- Does not challenge the general practical limitations such as time and resources

The choice of focus and questions for this research was influenced by Potter's (1999) model of integration process (Refer to section 2.4.1, Figure 3) and Aycan and Barry's (1996) '*Employment and Adaptation*' conceptual model (Refer to Appendix 3). I used Potter's model of integration process because it identified the complexity of the interaction between various factors influencing the integration process. Aycan and Barry's '*Employment and Adaptation*' conceptual model was used because it identified the impact of employment-related experiences on migrants' integration in Canada. The empirical research for this study generally focused on:

i) Examination of the initial settlement expectations and needs of FTP migrants

ii) Exploration of the nature of barriers encountered by FTP migrants

iii) Exploration of the Federal and municipal settlement and community services available, and

iv) Acknowledgment of suitable service delivery model and implementation strategy

Since research into the personal experience of FTP migrants has thus far been noticeably overlooked within the available literature, the empirical research for this thesis was intended to allow the participants to express their integration experience in Canada. Therefore, in light of their pre-migration aims, hopes, and dreams the interview questions particularly focus on FTP migrants' post-migration social and economic adaptation and the impact of these experiences on their life in Canada. It also assesses how successful the Canadian immigration policy amendments have been in addressing barriers and endorsing better integration in Canada. Largely, the evidence obtained from the study draws attention to issues and barriers that need attention when considering designing more responsive immigration and integration policy.

The interviews with FTP participants covered eight areas of questioning which reflected the main themes of the research (Refer to section 1.4 for details of these themes). They were as follows:

1) **Personal details**

2) **Immigration and adaptation experience:** reason for migration; immigration expectations, hopes and dreams; immigration alternatives; personal account of post-migration opportunity costs and benefits anticipated; immigration experience; post-migration integration experience (socio-cultural—impact on individual and family; economic—changes in finance, living standards and employment; and health—emotional and physical well-being); and post-migration options available for better integration in Canada

3) **Verification of professional credential and experience:** procedures taken to get professional accreditation and experience recognised in Canada and or London, Ontario; experiences encountered in conveying former credentials and work experience; and strategies employed with regards to recognition of credentials and experience

4) **Employment history:** strategies adopted with regards to integration into the labour market; employment pattern, nature, and duration of jobs in Canada; and patterns of unemployment

5) **Integration resources accessible:** available resources to assist with integration issues; the main providers; and migrants' use of: social assistance/social benefits; and unemployment insurance as income

6) **Participants reflections on their experience:** participant's attitude or sentiments, emotional reactions, and or opinion on the subjects discussed; participant's current emotional state

7) **Consequences of discussed issues:** the impact participant's integration experience has had on their, their partner, and family's emotional and physical well-being

8) **Views on immigration and immigration policy:** views on the role migrants could play in Canada; views on the recent amendments to Immigration Policy through Bill C-11 (2001); is it a positive way of modernising the immigration selection system? How does it impact FTP migrants migration to Canada

The interviews with service providers generally covered three areas, including:

1) Factors affecting the FTP's integration
2) FTP's integration service needs
3) Services provided and how they may be improved

The strength of the empirical approach used for this study is its emphasis on process. Through focusing on the migration experiences of FTP migrants I take into account their rationale for moving to Canada, consider their post-migration decisions concerning settlement, and explore the implications for them and their family's integration within the broader community. The evidence also calls attention to health and well-being which quantitative analysis is often unable to capture. The approach is also significant because of its potential to expose shortfalls within the current Canadian immigration and integration policy.

The data for this study was collected through three consecutive fieldwork periods in the summers of 2001 to 2003 in the form of 42 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with FTP migrants in London, Ontario.

6.3 THE STRATEGY USED FOR THE RESEARCH

The foremost factor influencing the nature of this research was my personal presumption about the general inadequacy of services assisting post-migration integration of FTP migrants to Canada and particularly in London, Ontario. Contrary to my predictions, the initial investigation of settlement agencies in London revealed that there were numerous established Federal settlement agencies operating in the city. However, these organisations' services were extremely basic in their scope and were more suited to assisting refugee and family class of immigrants within the initial stages of their integration process. It may be hypothesised that the existing settlement provision supported by the government are in response to Canada's immigration policy framework. Since the points system particularly assesses the Independent Class

migrants' attributes (*i.e.* credentials, economic integration, language capacity and age) against Canada's demographic and economic needs they are systemically assumed to possess the attributes required to independently go through the various stages of the integration process. Consequently, because of recent financial constraints and cutbacks the Federal government of Canada has further reduced services to this group of migrants, leading to the current disparity in services.

The primary research for this study comprised of 49 semi-structured, in-depth interview with FTP migrants and informants from settlement agencies and other affiliated service organisations in London, Ontario. These interviews ranged from 45min to 150 minutes in duration. I utilised a digital recorder and took short notes when appropriate during the interview. I also made reflective notes on the interview process after it had been terminated noting personal impressions, thoughts, and feelings concerning the interview experience.

Table 4: Fieldwork Timeline

Tasks	Year 1 (2001)			Year 2 (2002)			Year 3 (2003)			
	May	June	July	May	June	July	May	June	July	August
Planned fieldwork & developed research tools	■									
Identified & met relevant settlement agencies	■	■								
Two key organisation agreed to participate within the research		■	■							
Met with the two key settlement organisations				■						
Interviewed University of Western Ontario lecturers				■	■					
Identified & advertised the research within ethnocultural community organisations				■	■	■				
Interviewed FTP migrants from the communities					■	■				
Revisited the ethnocultural communities & readvertised research within local amenities							■	■		
Contacted affiliated service organisations & regulated professions							■			
Designed a questionnaire from the interview guide & emailed it to affiliated service organisations & regulated professions							■	■		
Completed interviews with settlement agencies, affiliated service organisations, and FTP migrants							■	■	■	■

Given this general theoretical and epistemological orientation, the next section addresses the adequacy of the proposed methods in relation to the empirical study with FTP migrants.

6.4 RATIONALE FOR QUALITATIVE APPROACH

In order to understand how FTP migrants interpret their integration experience in Canada I rejected the idea of working with tightly defined research questions and reliance on taken-for-granted assumptions about the participants in favour of qualitative, semi-structured interview approach. I used qualitative research approach because of its prominent characteristics such as (Patton, 1990; Eisner, 1991):

i) Natural setting is used as the source of data. The researcher using this approach attempts to observe, describe and interpret the setting as they are (Patton, 1990: 55)

ii) Inductive[81] data analysis is used within the research process

iii) The resultant reports are descriptive in nature and throughout the research and analysis process there is an awareness of the presence of voice (Eisner, 1991: 36)

iv) The research is based on interpretation and discovery of the meaning events have for the individuals who experience them, and the researcher's understanding of it

v) Focuses on emergent as opposed to predetermined design, therefore researcher's focus is on the emerging process as well as the outcomes or product of the research

In addition, the qualitative research method for investigation was used in view of Ann Oakley's (1981) claims regarding approaches to social research. Oakley claimed that formal, survey-type interviewing encourages a hierarchical relationship between the

[81] The term means that the critical themes emerge out of the data (Patton, 1990).

researcher and the participants, consequently objectifies participants as merely subjects within the research process. She claimed that such consideration was of particular importance when researching women or any other disadvantaged groups. Therefore, she argued that a good interview had to be flexible in structure in order to facilitate sharing of power within the research process. She alleged that objectification of participants did not produced good sociological research. She supposed such power parity was possible through incorporation of participants' input within the research design.

Moreover, the semi-structured interview approach is widely acknowledged for its capacity to build rapport and empathic understanding within research (Bryman, 2001; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Hammersley, 1993; Hawkesworth, 1989; Hubberman & Miles, 2002; Luff, 1999; Marshall, 1994; Minchiello *et. al.*, 1990; Skeggs, 1994). I anticipated that through better rapport I would maximise participants' co-operation within the study, which might otherwise have been perceived as intrusive and sensitive in nature. The non-rigidity of the semi-structured interview approach also allowed discussion of issues and events relevant to the particular participant in a sequence meaningful to them. The approach offered the participants the freedom to introduce discussions not anticipated, therefore provided a better insight into the issues they perceived as important.

The approach also assisted in capturing participants' thoughts and feelings concerning their personal experiences. The in-depth interviews with less structured questions allowed flexibility to adjust the topic guide and to question participants from different angles, hence enabled better insight into issue being discussed. In addition, the method facilitated timely follow-up of questions and clarification of participants' responses. Generally, the semi-structured interview approach provided greater flexibility of responses, enabled more in depth analysis of the issues under investigation, and facilitated generation of theories from data.

6.4.1 Discourses which Influenced Research Methodology

This study was informed and inspired by both naturalistic—inductive reasoning[82] (*i.e.* Eisner, 1991; Patton, 1990) and feminist discourses such as objectivity and subjectivity, conscious partiality, standpoint epistemology[83], self representation and researcher bias, and power relations within the research process (*i.e.* Cylwik, 2001; Coffey, 1999; DeVault, 1997; Egharevba, 2001; Hawkesworth, 1999; Mies, 1993; Mirza, 1998; Razavi, 1992; Roberts, 1981). Within social scientific inquiry, both discourses underline a focus on personal experiences and emphasise the role of the researcher in describing and interpreting the subjective and personal experience of the researched. Although this research is influenced by feminist epistemology and methodological debates and practice, it is not exclusively feminist in focus.

My interest on emigration and integration issues in Canada and the idea to research this topic arose from my family's experience of immigration and integration in Canada. The study has stemmed from a genuine aim to determine how current FTP migrants perceive their integration experience and identify their needs in Canada. The research has arose from my personal and political belief that in order to improve Canadian immigration policy and improve migrants' integration, immigrants need to be brought into the knowledge creation process through a 'bottom-up' approach to research whereby their experiences are acknowledged.

Within this study, my personal experience of the existing integration issues and scholarly awareness of social and political debates on immigration and integration enabled me to probe more deeply about the respondents' personal experience than I might have done had I not experienced some of the issues personally. My deeper knowledge of the issues has also influenced the epistemological approach I have applied

---

[82] Within social research, it refers to an approach in which premise about a sample, population is used to draw generalised conclusion about the population under investigation (Lincoln, 1999).

[83] Standpoint approach originated from feminist epistemology whereby the researcher identifies with the research participants and considers them as having the expert knowledge on the phenomenon being studied (Harding, 1993). For instance, this study's focus is on presenting the voice of the disadvantaged or exploited individuals.

within this study. For instance, I avoided epistemological debates regarding '*subjectivity*' and '*objectivity*' based on Glaser and Strauss' (1967) and Strauss and Corbin's (1990) notion of researcher's "*theoretical sensitivity*". In accordance with Strauss and Corbin (1990: 42), the term refers to the personal quality of the researcher such as: "[T]*he attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't*". They assert that the aforementioned theoretical sensitivity of the researcher stems from a number of sources, including: professional literature, professional experiences, and personal experiences. Razavi (1992:162) further expands their notion by stating, "*It has to be accepted that there is no such thing as the 'objectivity' of the outsider, only the different subjectivities of the outsider and the insider.*" In view of these debates and already emphasised social marginality experienced by FTP migrants in Canada, I rejected aspiring to obtain 'objective' knowledge and opted to focus on presenting issues pertinent to my participants and self (Hawkesworth, 1999). As a result, the study is founded on identification with the participants and adherence to what Mies (1993: 67-73) refers to as '*conscious partiality*' achieved through partial identification with the research participants.

Eisner (1991) and Patton (1990) emphasise how the credibility of a qualitative research is a reflection of the confidence readers have on the researcher's ability to be sensitive to the data and to make appropriate decisions in the field. Patton emphasises how within the field of social sciences qualitative researchers implement "*empathic neutrality*" as a means to overcome researcher bias (1990: 55). He defines empathy as "*a stance toward the people* [the researcher] *encounters*" and neutrality as "*a stance toward the findings*" (*Ibid*: 58). He maintains that through neutral stance, the researcher attempts to remain non-judgmental and aims to report what is found in an impartial manner. However, in accordance with Eisner (1991: 169) I acknowledge that there is "*paucity of methodological prescriptions*" within qualitative research since it places a premium on the strengths of the researcher rather than on standardisation. According to Hammersley (1992: 193), there are also issues surrounding the validity and reliability of participant's accounts within qualitative interviews. He asserts that: "[s]*ince all experience is a construction; it always carries the capacity for error as well as for truth.*" However,

since the chief aim of this research is to interpret and represent the scope of participants' immigration and integration experience, such inherent methodological shortfalls is not pertinent and do not negatively affect the research process and the results.

This study was conducted from the standpoint that the FTP migrant participants were the experts regarding their experience of immigration and integration. This stance stems from my commitment to feminist epistemology that accepts "*The essential validity of other people's experiences*" (Stanley and Wise, 1993: 22). In this way, the participants in this research are not passive objects but are key part of the process that is fundamentally about them, and their lives. In view of this, the study interprets the often-marginalized immigration and integration accounts of FTP migrants and draws attention to their settlement needs whilst in Canada.

Through focusing on FTP migrants accounts, this study rejects yielding another piece of research that relies on taken-for-granted assumptions of the '*knower*' (*i.e.* the academic, the government and the politicians) in favour of presenting the account of marginalized FTP migrants. In order to have a better understanding of the issues I chose to complement these accounts with other stakeholders' views and perspectives such as settlement organisations, professional regulatory bodies, social services, *etc.*

The methodological rationale for the study was principally influenced by Cohen and Taylor (1977: 76) who argued that the right to control talk has often been a prerogative of the powerful within the society. Cohen and Taylor claimed that:

> ***"Talk can be deviant... and controlling the right to talk is a tool for protecting the powerful".***
>
> (*Ibid.*)

Given this, the methodological approach for this study was generally guided by a commitment to conducting non-hierarchical, non-exploitative, and reciprocal research (For examples see Oakley 1981; Finch, 1984; Mirza, 1998, Skeggs, 1994).

As the above debates highlight, although research relationships ideally should be characterised by trust and integrity, they are frequently characterised by disparities of

power and status. My awareness of power relations within the interview process stems from Skeggs' (1994) claims regarding doctoral researchers' general inability to set-up reciprocal research relationships with participants due to lack of resources. In view of these claims, I chose to adhere to feminist proponents of self-disclosure, such as Oakley (1981). In absence of remuneration, I attempted to engender a reciprocal relationship with the participants by offering them the opportunity to ask questions and discuss what they perceived as pertinent to them. In my view, this approach encouraged reciprocity of power and information, enabled establishment of better rapport, and provided richer personal data. I also negotiated the content and representation of the research with the participants (Refer to section 6.2 for details) and agreed to let them see transcripts of the interviews and field notes via email attachments. This gave participants the opportunity to discuss alteration of the content, to withdraw statements, and the option to provide additional information or to clarify interpretations if they wished. In the event none did.

However, Diane Wolf (1996: 2) notes that even if emancipatory, participatory, and reciprocal methods have informed or been applied to the research process, it does not ensure that the written representations would reflect such equality. Wolf stresses that power within fieldwork is detectable in three interrelated dimensions: i) power differences stemming from different positioning of the researcher and the participants (referring to race, class, nationality, life-chances, urban-rural backgrounds, *etc.*); ii) power exerted during the research process, such as defining the research relationship, unequal exchange, and exploitation; and iii) power exerted post fieldwork period through writing and presenting. Researchers exercise power by determining which stories, quotes, and voices they display and how they display them (Hertz, 1997; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). According to Mauthner and Doucet (1998: 139), conventionally researchers retain power and control over conceiving, designing, administering, and reporting the research. The 'others' the researchers write about have varying degrees of involvement in determining the way they are portrayed, depending on how participatory the research process is. As a result, the final text produced is always mediated accounts with the researcher's own interpretation incorporated within the content. Keith (1992: 554) emphasises how even the "*Presentation of the self* [as a

researcher] *activates power relations which in the final analysis will always give the academic author the final word.*"

My profile as a young, immigrant female researcher interviewing generally, middle-aged immigrant males, who were well established and high profile FTP migrants complicated the extent of rapport and power relations within the fieldwork process. The fieldwork experience is explained in depth in section (6.4.2 and 6.6) of this chapter where I reflect on the interview process. Although my immigrant personal history encouraged certain level of familiarity, openness, and rapport with the respondents, the combination of informality and semi-structured interview process applied in this study meant that I had to be particularly aware of maintaining the attention of the participants on the topic in order to obtain the required data. In addition, in retrospect I feel that my age and gender encouraged a level of power tension since in few occasions my expert knowledge and level of competency to carry out the research was indirectly challenged by some participants.

6.4.2 Rapport and Empathy

The circumstances under which this research was conducted generated methodological and practical problems concerning interview interaction, which are worth outlining. Whilst conducting the preliminary interviews participants questioned the research's concentration and whether I had any links with any government organisation.

Within social research the ways in which participants from different ethnic groups, social classes, age groups, and either gender perceive and relate to the researcher and their attitudes towards the researcher's gender, age, marital status, ethnicity and social class are particularly important considerations. These factors often have considerable influence on the research process and the results obtained. This section will discuss

rapport and empathy and power relations within the researcher-participant relationship within the research process and the way these were played out within the interviews.

Although building rapport is an indispensable factor in social research, some researchers assert that it is not necessarily a sufficient condition for obtaining good quality data. For instance, Freilich (1977: 257) suggested that interviewers often used rapport to '*engineer*' people and situations. Spradley (1979: 78) acknowledged rapport's '*acquisitive function*'. Glesne and Peshkin (1992: 94) describe rapport as a "*distance-reducing, anxiety-quieting, trust building mechanism that primarily serves the interests of the researchers.*" In view of these debates, Hubbard *et al.* (2001: 129) emphasises that:

> ***"The relationship between researcher and respondent is* [generally] *parasitic, but this is mitigated by* [the] *sense of rapport with the respondent, so that the exchange at least feels equal."***

Nevertheless, Campbell (2003: 290) stresses that:

> ***"The kind of 'rapport' that objectifies interviewees needs to be distinguished from that which seeks to produce an interpretive or hermeneutical interviewer-interviewee relationship."***

Campbell also notes that:

> ***"The professional interests, orientations, and logics of inquiry that inform the two approaches are fundamentally different, if not incompatible."***

Within the literature, cross-cultural research is widely recognised for having its own set of epistemological and methodological difficulties. There is a dearth of discussion on the methodological dilemmas faced by a racialised ethnic researcher studying individuals or communities, which they are not part of (Marshall, 1994; Phoenix 1994; Bhopal, 1995; Mirza, 1998; Rakhit, 1998; Egharevba, 2002). Within cross-cultural studies, self-representation and identity (*i.e.* perception, stereotyping, self-identification concerning gender, age, ethnicity, physical appearance, attire, and culture) have been identified as the key dilemmas (Berik, 1996; Mizra, 1998; Razavi, 1992; Reinharz, 1992). These studies have drawn attention to the '*insider/outsider*' dichotomies raised through ethnic or 'race' matching of the researcher/researched. Egharevba (2001: 226)

stresses that within the research process, the researcher's ethnicity often affects the choice of research group and the extent to which they have access to the research population.

Evidence indicates that a shared minority status and understanding of racism between the researched and the researcher may affect the research relationship concerning the type and the level of information shared (Mizra, 1998; Egharevba, 2002; Reinharz, 1992). Mizra (1998) asserts that within social research the point of entry is often easier by those who share the researchers' ethnicity, age, personal/political views, and social class. However, Blair (1995: 249) argues that the willingness of a respondent to give (reliable) information is often influenced by their political considerations as well as by their self-interest and is not simply based on race.

Within this study although my ethnicity facilitated the research process, it also created ambiguity for my FTP participants. Some participants in the study had preconceived notions about me prior to the interviews. For instance on several occasions I was explicitly told, "*I wasn't expecting someone like you doing this research!*" referring to my age and disposition which was supposed as essentially "*too young*" and "*westernised*". As a university-based postgraduate researcher, I had expected I would effortlessly establish rapport with the professional participants and did not imagine that there would be any suspicion regarding my motives to carry out the study. However, once I became conscious of the dilemmas involved, I became aware of my self-representation within London community. Because of participants' fear of espionage, I became aware of not being associated with the state, hence emphasised my status as an independent but interested researcher. Hence, I made a point of opening interviews by introducing myself and positioning my research task firmly within the university setting. Having been made to feel conscious of my age at early stages of the fieldwork, I became aware that my status as a student might present a danger of me being perceived as amateur, therefore not fully competent, or 'professional'. This in turn compelled me to avoid any mention of being a 'postgraduate student' throughout the fieldwork process (Campbell, 2003: 292 and Kenyon & Hawker, 1999: 318).

The FTP participants were also suspicious about the purpose of the research and questioned where and how the data was going to be used. Such reservation may be postulated as their deficient knowledge of their rights in Canada and may be taken as illustrative of their lack of full understanding of the Canadian constitution. This raises doubts about the extent to which migrants are made to feel secure in their host country, a point that will be picked up in the analysis of the interview data in Chapter eight.

In an effort to promote rapport and trust, I encouraged participants to regard the interviews as a platform for expressing their experiences and their feelings. I allowed participants some level of self-direction in the interview process, and attempted to raise points of interest and concern from their own standpoint and experience. I used a range of techniques normally associated with the development of rapport such as the recursive model of questioning (Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979; Stewart & Cash, 1988); funnelling techniques (Abrahamson, 1983); storytelling (Askham, 1982), and asked a range of different types of questions (*i.e.* descriptive, structural, opinion/value, and 'feeling') (Minchiello *et al.*, 1990). In addition, in line with Schatzman and Strauss' (1973: 73), I incorporated '*posing the ideal*' line of questioning wherein I invited the participants to describe and analyse the ideal situation that they could conceive concerning their current situation. According to Minchiello *et al.* (1990: 124), this approach allows comparisons to be drawn between the '*perceived ideal*' and '*experienced reality*' and it is a useful technique for closing an interview.

The above debates indicate how my experience of establishing rapport and trust with participants and the social relationships in which the research was embedded were not fixed by immutable social roles taken on by either the participants or the researcher. Hence, my fieldwork experience turned out to be as much about learning how to handle the dynamics of individual interviews as about learning what opportunities and constraints existed within the field. Had I been older, male, a more experienced researcher, white, or any other combination of social identities, an entirely different set of interviewing relations and perhaps empirical data would have prevailed.

6.4.3 Ethical, Logical, and Practical Considerations

Ethical practice within the field of social sciences generally involves having a clear agreement with the participants regarding: i) what the research is about; ii) what their participation involves; iii) how the data will be collected; iv) how the data will be used, and v) how the analysis will be reported and disseminated, and vi) it is about keeping to such agreements when they have been reached (Blaxter *et al.* , 1996; Punch, 1994). I followed these general guidelines within the interview process. I commenced each interview by recapping what the research was about and highlighted the general topics I was interested in discussing with the participants. After the brief introduction, participants were then asked to read and sign an informed consent (Refer to Appendix 20).

As highlighted previously, social sciences as a discipline generally encourages conducting '*value-free*' research, however researchers engaged in social research come into the process with their personal values. However, proponents of these debates claim that researcher's familiarity with the topic being studied does not necessarily mean contamination of the research. In fact, they claim it means that the researcher brings new dimensions to the research through a level of understanding that may not be there otherwise (Adler & Adler, 1997; Charmaz & Mitchell, 1997; DeVault, 1997; Hertz, 1997; Krieger, 1991; Pierce, 1995). Currently, the growing severity of economic and social crises of certain populations has stirred debates about the need for advocacy through research. According to Kemp and Squires (1997: 143), this phenomenon has translated in social researchers taking the standpoint of the oppressed in order to find ways of transforming rather than reproducing existing social relations. However, in this context social researchers are pressured to maintain value free research through excluding themselves from the final accounts and controlling their opinions and biases. Yet, Weber (1946, 1949) emphasises how all research is contaminated to some extent by the values of the researcher. He maintained that through such values certain problems are identified and studied in particular ways. Weber emphasised that even commitment to scientific (in other words rigorous) method or any other approach to

research is a value as well, therefore the conclusions and implications drawn from any study is grounded in the moral and political beliefs of the researcher.

Due to the sensitive nature of this study, I felt the need to give something back to my participants who had given their time and opened so much of their lives for the study. Although monetary remuneration was not considered, I shared any information I deemed useful to them.

6.5 RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

This section will describe the actual process of gaining access to the research participants and the empirical study. It will explain the original sampling plan and the gap between original plan and practice explain the approaches taken and the resulting outcomes.

Sampling is a systematic way of choosing a group "*small enough to study and large enough to be representative*" (Shipman, 1988: 52). Although random sampling would have been the optimal sampling method for this study, the reality of time and resource constrains did not permit this, therefore the empirical data was gathered through non-probability, purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is often utilised when extreme limitations on time and resources prohibit probability sampling. For purposive sampling, the researcher seeks easily identifiable sample population, which provide information-rich cases that can be studied in depth (Patton, 1990). For purposive samples, contacts are made until the required quota is met. Owing to sampling difficulties encountered and predominant reliance on self-selected participants, snowball technique was used to obtain further participants from previously interviewed respondents. For practical reasons, studies that explore immigrants' experience typically

make use of snowball sampling[84] (*i.e.* Breton *et al.* 1990; George, 1996, 1998, 1999; Owen, 1999; Reitz, 2001; Dion, 2002; O'Conner, 2003). However, snowball sampling has inherent problems because of its reliance on participants for referrals. It is frequently problematic in terms of uncertainty it brings to the research process. The randomness of the approach increases the chances of discontinuity, thus increasing the likelihood of the researcher not being able to achieve set research goals. In addition, it encourages an element of loss of control in selection of participants and it is time consuming. For this approach to be successful, it is essential to use key informants—people that "know" the group or the community, who would introduce the researcher to the community and act as a liaison in order to assist with referrals. However, this could potentially generate complications in terms of safeguarding ethical practice when obtaining referrals and may increase the likelihood of erroneous information being given to potential participants. It may also endorse over involvement of the key informants and potentially jeopardise participants' privacy.

Like other hard-to-sample populations, the sampling difficulty in this study rested in targeting the FTP immigrant population. In Canada, the government-maintained database of legal entrants, the '*Immigrant Visa and Record of Landing*' files is the most complete list of legal immigrants annually entering the country. This database is compiled from completed immigration documents kept by CIC. However, because of the cost involved in getting specified records from 1970s to 2000 for London, Ontario CMA, I obtained data from 2000 records to set the sampling frame. Through the data obtained, I identified the top five categories of professions with which immigrants had entered London, Ontario in 2000. However, due to sampling difficulties encountered, I had to gain access to participants wherever it was possible, therefore, the professions of the individuals interviewed is slightly different from the sampling frame.

The sample for the research comprised of FTP migrants who had:[85]

i) Migrated between 1960s and 2002

---

[84] Is a sampling technique whereby potential participant are identified through previously interviewed individual.

[85] Refer to Appendix 25 for the sample table and Appendix 24 and 26 for biographical information of the sample.

ii) Undergraduate/postgraduate degree level professional qualifications from outside Canada, including:

- 13 University Lecturers
- 8 Engineers (Civil, Mechanical, Electrical & Mining)
- 6 Researcher/Research Scientists
- 6 Teachers (Elementary & Secondary School)
- 3 Medical Practitioners (MD, Physician, & Dentist)
- 3 Business related fields (HR, Advertising, & Sales)
- 2 Psychologist/Counsellor/Therapist
- 1 Accountant

iii) Arrived as either independent class or was FTP migrant who had entered as convention refugee or refugee claimant

The sample was categorised in four groups:

i) Academic migrants that were headhunted internationally
ii) Not headhunted FTP migrants, and
iii) FTP refugees (both convention and refugee claimants)
iv) Those who entered as students

A further seven interviews were conducted with service providers comprising:

- 5 participants from settlement organisations
- 1 participant from federal government agency
- 1 expert researcher

In addition, one emailed questionnaire was returned from a professional regulated body, the PEO[86].

The initial empirical strategy for the study entailed working with prominent not-for-profit settlement organisations in London, Ontario. I anticipated selecting the sample for

[86] Emailed questionnaires were sent to *The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario* (ICAO), *College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario* (CPSO), *Ontario College of Teachers* (OCT), and *Professional Engineers Ontario* (PEO). However, the response rate was poor and only PEO responded (Refer to section 6.3 for details).

the study from the client database of these organisations. Lonner and Berry (1986) emphasise that drawing samples from a convenient collective is particularly suitable in cross-cultural research specially when there are no accurate or accessible lists of the desired population.

Whilst setting the fieldwork in the summer of (2001) two local organisations expressed interest in the study and informally agreed to give their full co-operation and access to their clientele. However, the following summer they withdrew access to their clientele because of concerns with service confidentiality. Later I became aware of their participation in a similar but much larger, government funded research local study.[87] In addition, through the research process I became aware that despite my efforts to built rapport the local organisations perceived me as an intruder, potential competitor with regards to research, and even a threat. I assume in these circumstances I was perceived as capable of stealing research ideas, hence impinging these organisations' potential for receiving support for research bids or proposals. Although the politics of doing this research turned out to be very interesting, gaining the trust of the settlement organisations proved to be quite challenging. Due to these organisations' lack of cooperation as well as time and resource constrains I had to reassess the fieldwork plan and had major difficulties in developing a strategy for recruiting participants.

Owing to sampling difficulties encountered, I chose to use posters to advertise the research in local ethnocultural communities and city amenities such as public libraries, employment and health centres, and other community organisations [Refer to Appendix 19 for the research poster, and Appendix 24 for details of the ethnocultural organisations approached within this study]. The main ethnocultural communities in London included:

---

[87] It is important to mention that most settlement organisations in Canada are not-for-profit organisations, which are currently partially financed by the government. They are often understaffed, overworked, and in competition with other organisations for limited federal funds through internal proposals initiatives and bids. As a result, I postulate that they often are not genuinely cooperative with external research that is not enforced by the Federal government and its supported institutions unless there is some from of gain through participation for these organisations. London settlement organisations' lack of cooperation with this study may be postulated as reflecting their operational difficulties, in particular service, and financial limitations they generally experience.

- Chinese Canadian National Council (London Chapter)
- Hindu Cultural Centre
- Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Community Centre (London & vicinity)
- London Jewish Federation
- London Muslim Mosque

However, this approach initially did not result in sufficient participants. Therefore, I had to invest in establishing better rapport with the ethnocultural communities in order to built trust and encourage interest in the study. Since I was offered a base as an international researcher within the Sociology department at University of Western Ontario (UWO) located in London, and had built a good rapport with key people at the university, I used my contacts to identify the foreign-trained lecturers they knew at the university. I also searched UWO website and sent a generic email about the study to academics with non-western names. This approach proved to be successful and provided me with the initial contacts to proceed with sampling other professionals in London.

To ensure that participants met the research criterion, I used a screening questionnaire within the selection process (Refer to Appendix 18 for details). The screening questionnaire were also used to obtain basic data such as: demographic information, year of arrival, the immigration class under which the migrant had entered Canada, pre-migration and post-migration level of education, profession, and years of work experience.

6.5.1 The Sample Parameters

Since within this study it was not necessary to have a representative sample of immigrants, the particular FTP migrants interviewed are not a cross-section of immigrants, nor represent a statistically relevant sample. I expected to have a representative sample concerning age, gender, ethnic, and profession composition but because of the sampling difficulties encountered, this was not possible. I also intended

to interview key regulated professions regarding their practices in relation to FTP migrants' accreditation recognition and professional licensing but I had difficulties getting through institutional bureaucracy and experienced access difficulties that was exacerbated by fieldwork time constraints. I was advised by a participant to consider sending an email questionnaire instead of making appointments for face-to-face interviews [Refer to Appendix 23]. Consequently, I designed an interview questionnaire based on the existing interview guide and emailed it to certification and licensing department of *The Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario* (ICAO), *College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario* (CPSO), *Ontario College of Teachers* (OCT), and *Professional Engineers Ontario* (PEO). However, the response rate was poor and only the PEO responded.

There were also other unforeseen problems with the sampling (such as FTP migrants' *ad hoc* use of the Canadian immigration categorisation), the Canadian 'immigrant stigma', and other methodological limitations with achieving a representative sample, which will be discussed in the next few sections.

6.5.2 FTP Migrants' *ad hoc* Use of the Canadian Immigration Categorisation

In Canada, immigration under the independent class is a very lengthy process. Currently, it takes anywhere from five months to a year and a half from the time of the application for the individual to arrive in Canada[88]. Since the application processing for convention and/or refugee claimants is generally faster, some FTP migrants from developing countries with socio-political and economic unrest opt to enter Canada under this category of immigration patterns. This was particularly the case among the Colombian FTP migrants. Discovery of this phenomenon necessitated a reconsideration of the sample frame so to reflect the existing immigration. As a result, refugees who met the selection profile in terms of timeframe, educational level, and had professional

[88] For application processing times refer to www.cic.gc.ca/EnGLIsh/department/times/index.html, accessed date 25/03/07.

qualifications were also included in the study. This study's comparative analysis of the data from FTP refugees represents a unique perspective of recent migration trends and immigration experience of this group.

6.5.3 '*Immigrant Stigma*' As a Demographic Dilemma

Within the sampling process, it became evident that in Canada the term 'immigrant' is associated with negative connotations. Due to the lack of accurate or accessible lists of desired sample population, I had to rely on poster advertisement for recruitment of participants. Within the poster advertisements, I used the term 'immigrant' which in retrospect may have been perceived as derogatory by some potential participants who had lived in Canada for a long time and were granted Canadian citizenship. This may be the reason why amongst the self-selected sample that applied to my advertisement over a third (16/42) had arrived in Canada between 1969-1995 timeframe whilst the majority, almost two thirds of the sample (26/42) had arrived in 1996-2002 timeframe. It is also likely that long-term immigrants who are integrated into influential positions do not wish to identify themselves as "immigrants" when they become socially and economically established. This view is supported by the 1996 Census of Canada, *Ontario's Public Use Microdata File of Individuals* [1/36 Sample] (Accessed on June 2002) that demonstrated a general increase of the number of census respondents reporting "Canadian" as their ethnic origin over the past decade. As a result, this research arguably adds to the evidence suggesting that migrants may either genuinely integrate over time or over identify with the mainstream in order to be established in Western society both circumstances draw attention to the 'immigrant stigma' discussed earlier.

6.5.4 Other Demographic Issues: The Country of Origin, Age, and Gender

It has already been mentioned that because of sampling difficulties and reliance on self-selection and snowball sampling, I had to be less selective concerning participants' country of origin, age, and gender. For instance, within this study I had very few females responding to the research poster advertisements distributed in London's ethnic communities and public amenities (For details refer to section 7.5). I postulate that the gender imbalance may be an outcome of my lack of consideration of women's needs in deciding the sampling approach I took within this study. In retrospect, I realise that the poster advertisement approach I used does not sympathise with women's concern with safety and does not take into consideration non-western women's limited public presence. With hindsight in order to ensure gender balance within the data, I should have been more conscious of incorporating and accommodating women within the research framework. Therefore, I acknowledge that when researching women from diverse cultures researchers need to identify the possible women spaces such as women groups and organisations for sample selection.

6.6 INTERVIEWING IN CONTEXT

Within this study, I made use of an interview topic guide to insure consistency in the line of questioning and information obtained from participants (Refer to Appendix 21 and 22 for the interview topic guides). The majority of interviews took place in the University of Western Ontario's campus or in the city's main public library.

The interview schedule used for the FTP interviews was set out in three parts. First part was concerned about the respondent's demographic history, the second part asked questions about pre-migration history, including a series of questions relating to the

reason(s) for migration, migration alternatives considered or sought reasons for choosing Canada and London, Ontario particularly. It also explored their pre-migration expectations, hopes, perceived advantage(s) and disadvantage(s) of the move to Canada, and their educational background, and work history. The third part was concerned with post-migration experiences they had encountered with cultural adjustments. It explored the socio-cultural, economic, and employment adjustments.

The questions addressed explored participants' experience with the recognition and assessment of their credentials, and their reasons for attaining further credentials while in Canada and subsequent employment history. The focus of the questioning was to reveal and document participants' reflections of their perceived gains and losses post-migration to Canada. I was interested in understanding FTP migrants' evaluation of their experience and the impact the adjustments had on their overall health and well-being. I was generally interested in the extent to which FTP migrants' post-migration experiences had enabled or hampered their feeling of integration into Canadian society.

I was also interested in identifying formal resources and informal support networks (*i.e.* financial, educational, psychological, cultural, and social) participants had accessed to assist them within the settlement process and how they generally felt about the existing services available to them. I was particularly interested in highlighting their perceptions regarding the current immigration policy and the types of provisions required in order to better aid FTP migrants' integration into the broader Canadian society.

The male participants in this study were very reluctant to talk about their health and well-being. As a result, they were prompted in relation to stress levels encountered and the resultant impact of the stress on their quality of life. This line of questioning enabled participants to communicate more openly about their experiences with loss of self-esteem, depression, and isolation. I also found that the participants were very vague or quoted dates from a more recent period. This made it challenging to derive a chronological course of events. However, most participants could usually remember the dates of entering and leaving various jobs, so it was not difficult to map out migrants' career path. Nevertheless, it was harder to track the impact of the changes on

participants' lives. I attempted to overcome these problems by asking participants about specific periods (*i.e.* pre and post-migration) and probable events. Since the interview, process was semi-structured when participants made remarks that introduced new line of inquiry these were followed-up. In this way, recurring themes were established through the interview process.

The interviews with the service providers focused on their accounts of their clientele profiles, the services provided to FTP migrants, and their assessments of the services and what is needed in order to improve their services to meet the demands addressed by FTP migrants. From their experience of serving the community, I was interested in identifying factors affecting FTP migrants' entry into their respective profession and consequently the Canadian labour market. I was also interested to know whether FTP migrants were actually matching the local labour market needs as the Canadian government proclaimed.

Had my resources permitted, it would have been beneficial to have used an ethnographic approach and conducted more 'follow-up' interviews. Whilst assessing the strength and weaknesses of the methodological techniques used within this research, it is important to note that the interview technique has intrinsic shortcomings since the participants come into the research process with their personal biases about the research subject matter. In addition, participants who volunteer for research do so with a personal agenda in mind. For instance, numerous participants in this study stated that they were interested to participate because of the opportunity it offered to voice their experiences and stress the need for systemic and organisational changes to Canadian government's approach to immigration and integration.

6.7 DATA ANALYSIS

At present, the most common framework for qualitative data analysis is the '*Grounded Theory*' approach, which emphasises the systematic discovery of theory from data by

using methods of constant comparison and theoretical sampling so that theories remain grounded in observations of the social world rather than being generated in the abstract. Researchers begin analysing by allowing an array of concepts (labels given to discrete phenomena produced through open coding[89] referred to as the '*building blocks of theory*') and categories to emerge from systematic inspection of the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1998: 101). The researcher works systematically through the data transcripts generating labels to describe both low-level concepts and the more abstract features deemed relevant. As the analysis proceeds, the researcher builds up a set of categories that refer to one or more instances in the data. The grounded theory analysis also entails theoretical saturation of categories involving coding of instances until no new examples of variation are found within the transcribed data.

Once the interviews were completed, I used inductive data analysis approach to facilitate descriptive analysis of what was said by the participants (Eisner, 1991). I commenced by dividing the interviews based on participants' broad immigration entry classes: A) Independent Class; B) Work Permit/Work Visa; C) Student, and D) Convention Refugees/Refugee Claimants. Then I divided the sample to more specific categories such as: i) Headhunted immigrants; ii) Not headhunted immigrants; iii) Student, and iv) FTP refugees (both convention and refugee claimants). Next, the interviews within each category were divided into two broad groupings based on either 'positive' or 'negative' accounts they discussed.

The analysis for this study was completed through four stages. Within the first stage I identified themes emerging from the raw data, a process sometimes referred to as "*open coding*" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Through this process, forty codes were generated from the interview transcripts [Refer to Appendix 28 and 29]. At the second stage, these codes were expounded. They were grouped according to two broad categories (pre and post migration views) and then divided into sub-themes generated from interview transcripts and thesis questions. They included:

[89]According to Strauss and Corbin (1990: 61), the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising, and categorising data, yields concepts that may be grouped and turned into categories.

1) **Pre-migration views:** Reason for migration; Pre-migration views of Canada; Immigration expectation, and Pre-migration Employment Status

2) **Post-migration views:** Immigration Experience; Post-migration Views of Canada; Post-migration Adaptation/Integration Experience; Post-migration Employment Experience; Post-migration Use of Resources; Post-migration Options Available; Post-migration Coping Strategies Adopted, and Comments on Canadian Immigration Policy

As a result, accounts and events that appeared to be similar were grouped into the same category. Through this process, descriptive themes were created which was the preliminary framework for analysis. These categories were then modified and replaced during the subsequent stages of analysis [Refer to Appendix 30 and 31]. At the third stage '*thematic analysis*' was applied whereby the already identified key findings, themes, and concepts were analysed and comparisons were made within and across different categories (*Ibid.*). At this stage, I conceptualised and interpreted the meaning migrants had given to their experiences. I paid attention to idiosyncratic as well as pervasive findings, and highlighted the uniqueness of each case. At the last stage, to complete the analysis process direct verbatim and informative quotes from the interviews were linked to the literature review and the study's theoretical framework.

Within this study, it was inappropriate to quantify the responses of FTP migrants because of the semi-structured interview approach applied and the lack of formal interview schedule within the interview process. However, the study illustrates how the sample FTP migrants interpret their immigration and integration experience in Canada. Where quantitative measure was possible, they have been included in the next chapter. The written analysis presented in (Chapter 8 and 9) highlight the social construction of immigration experience and emphasise the meaning the participants had attached to these experiences. Most of the content of the two chapters is direct verbatim quotes taken from transcribed interviews. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants, numbers were assigned to each interview [Refer to Appendix 26]. Within the content of these chapters, direct quotations were used in order to allow the opportunity for FTP migrants' voice to be heard and to limit the extent to which the accounts were reinterpreted.

6.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the epistemological and methodological approach applied within this study. The chapter drew from naturalistic and feminist discourses such as objectivity and subjectivity, conscious partiality, standpoint epistemology, self-representation and researcher bias, and power relations, which were prominent within the fieldwork process. These discussions delved into my fieldwork experience and drew attention to the dilemmas raised by my immigrant researcher status which positioned me as both on the '*inside*' and '*outside*' of immigrant *vs.* Canadian identity.

The accounts in the chapter emphasise how like most novice researchers, I had not predicted the challenges I encountered within the fieldwork process. This was partially because of my presumptions about working with migrant professionals with whom I thought I was all too familiar because of my family's experience. I had assumed that my shared migrant identity in a multicultural country where issues of ethnicity and race are supposedly irrelevant was of advantage within the research. Consequently, I thought access to participants would be unproblematic, nevertheless my fieldwork experience proved contrary. In fact, access to participants was the most challenging aspect of this study.

Although, I started out the fieldwork with what I thought was a very calculated plan, throughout the process I had to modify and compromise the preconceived approach as the reality proved it impossible to pursue. Therefore, the data obtained although very fruitful has major limitations concerning gender, age, and country of origin balance. However, the practical contribution this study makes through identifying better methodological approach may be used to improve future research with migrants.

CHAPTER 7

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarises the descriptive results of the study. The chapter provides an overview of the demographic features of London, Ontario and compares it with other regions and the sample of FTP migrants interviewed. It commences with the general geographic profile of London, Ontario followed by its demographic profile including racial make-up, age composition, and level of education. Then it resumes with an overview of London's economy. It reflects on existing industries, and current skill shortages and compares it to the skill level of recent migrants entering the city of London, the province of Ontario, and nationally. It concludes with the demographic profile of FTP migrants interviewed.

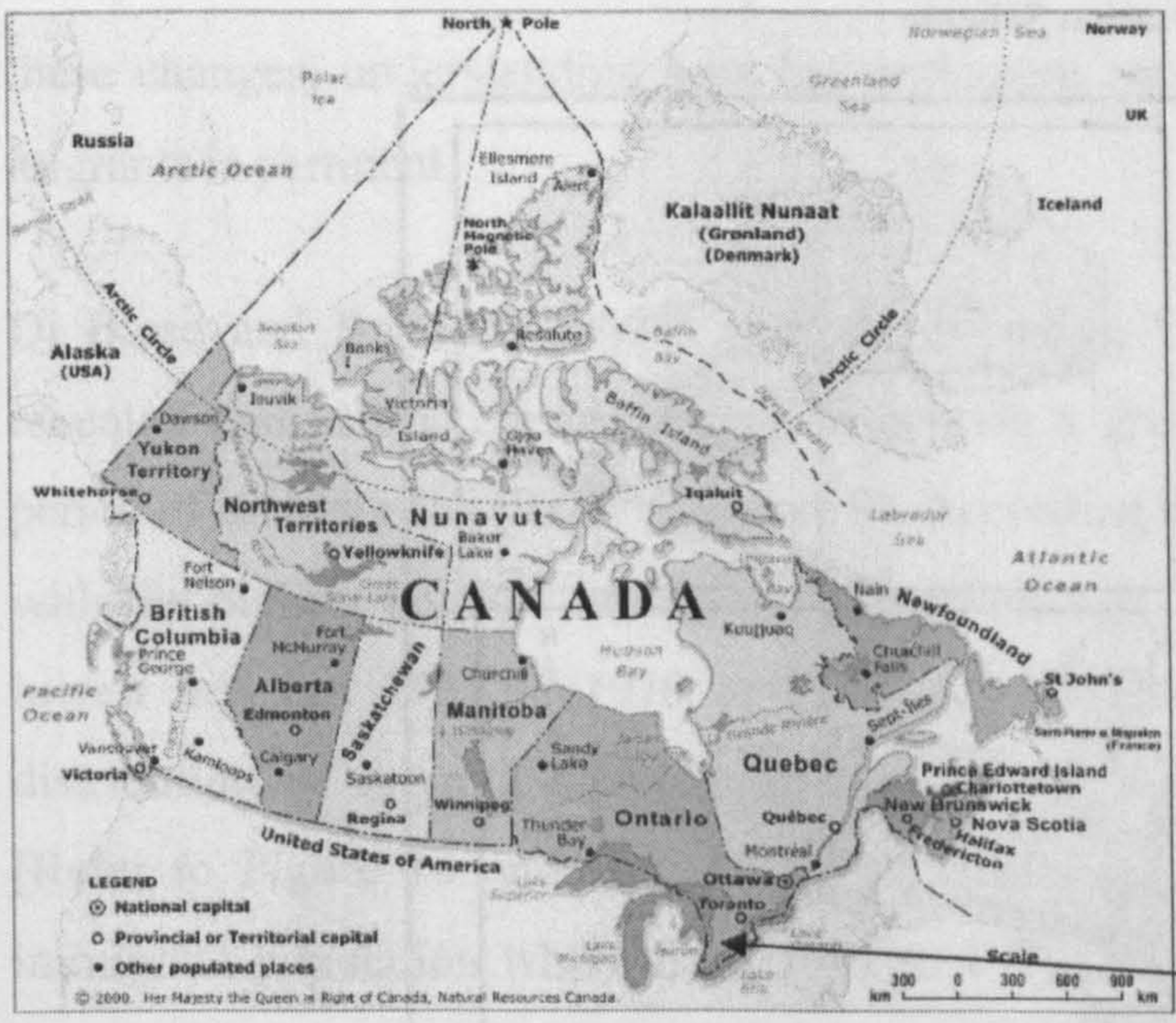
7.2 London's GEOGRAPHICAL PROFILE

The province of Ontario was selected as the prime study site due to the large number of migrants the province receives and the overwhelming role Toronto plays as an immigration gateway city. This thesis particularly focuses on London, Ontario.

Based on the 2001 *Canadian Census* regional population classification, Di Biase and Bauder (2004: 3-4) classified the urban, intermediate and rural regions across Ontario and calculated location quotients to compare the spatial concentration of recent migrants

in a given census subdivision relative to the total population of Ontario (Refer to Figure 9). They used multivariate regression analysis to examine the relationship between immigrant settlement and an area's labour force characteristics. According to them, among the immigrants who lived in Ontario in 2001, roughly 91% resided in urban regions and less than 5 percent in rural regions. Of migrants who came to Canada and settled in Ontario between 1996 and 2001, over 96% lived in urban regions and less than 4% in intermediate and rural regions. Di Biase and Bauder's results demonstrate that urban regions in Ontario are far more popular destinations among recent migrants than rural or intermediate areas (*Ibid.*). As their region, classification clearly indicates London, Ontario is one of these urban regions.

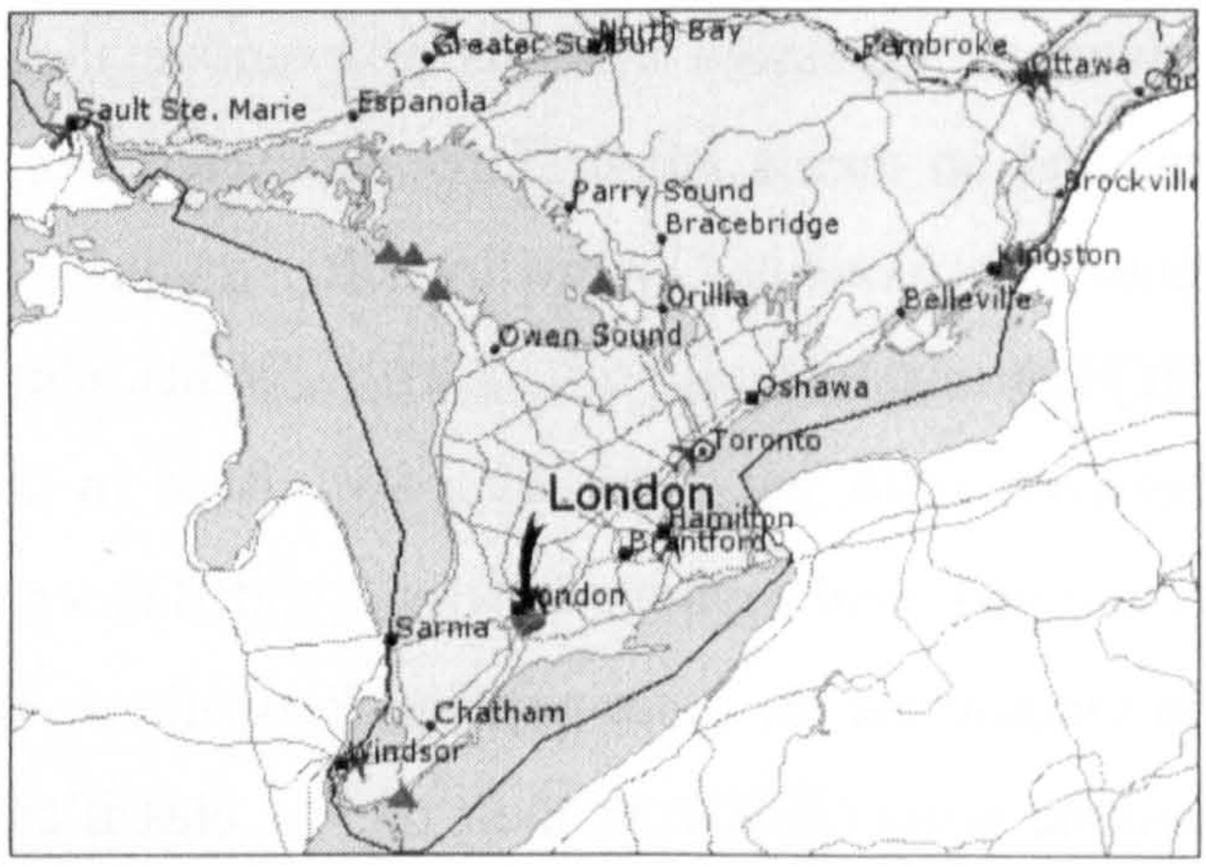
Figure 6: City of London, Ontario in Canada



London, Ontario

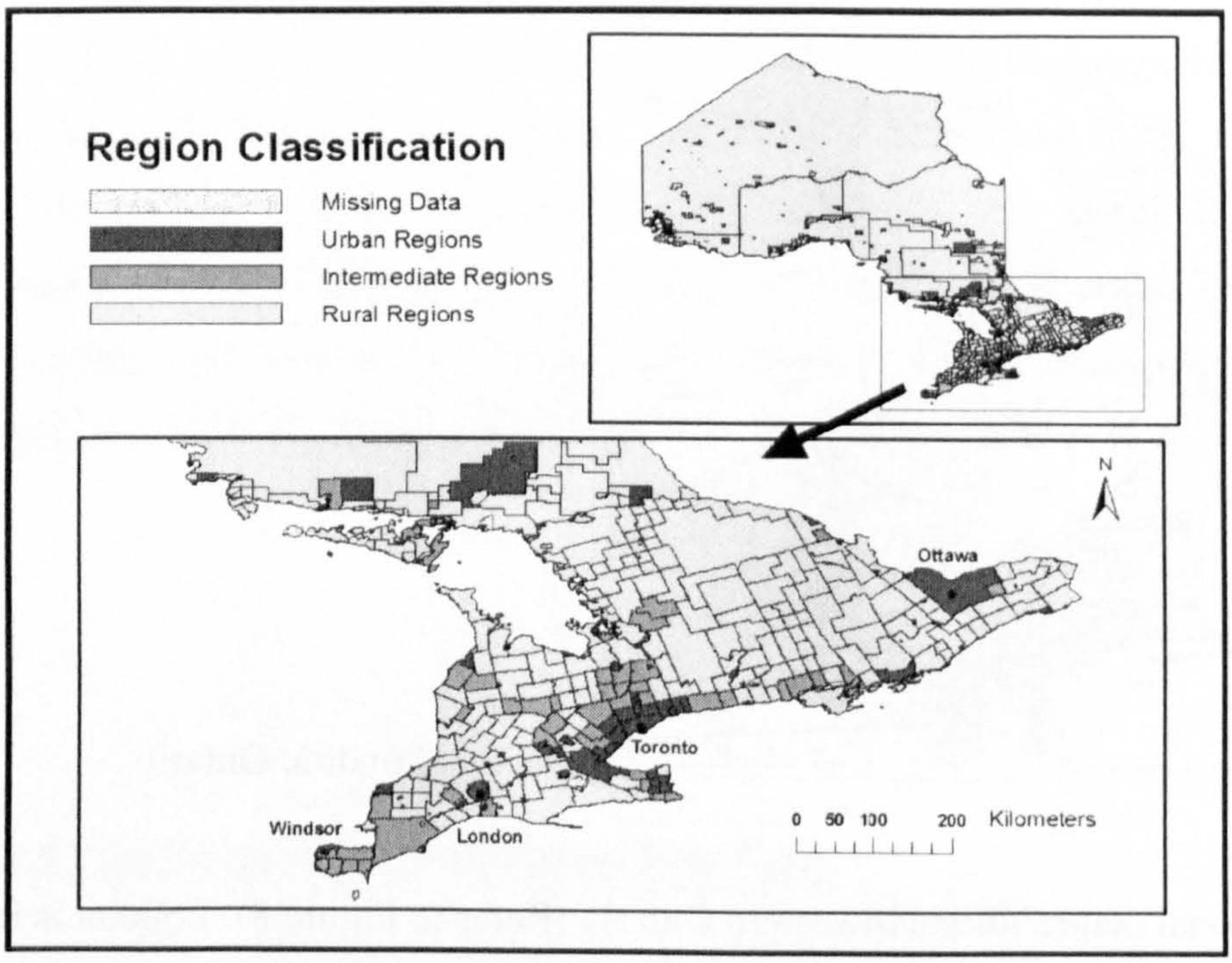
London is the regional centre for southwestern Ontario (Refer to Figure 8). London is in the Middlesex County at the forks of the non-navigable Thames River. It is one of Canada's largest municipalities with a CMA population of about 432, 451. The city of London has a population of about 336, 539, which is currently growing at an annual rate of 0.76% (*Canada Census*, 2001). The Bank of Montreal (2000) asserts that historically London's region population has grown at a very similar pace to that of Ontario as a whole.

Figure 7: City of London, Ontario



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London%2C_Ontario#Demographics, accessed date 07/04/04.

Figure 8: Ontario's Regional Classification Scheme



Source: Di Biase and Bauder (2004: 3) calculated from the 2001 Canadian Census of Population.

7.3 LONDON's DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

As mentioned previously (Section 4.3.3) Canada's migrant settlement patterns represent a spatial polarisation between rural and urban regions. In 2001, migrants constituted 18.4% of Canada's population (CIC, 2003). In 2002, Ontario received 58.3% of all migrants to Canada, most of who settled in Toronto (CIC, 2003). Chapter two highlighted how in Canada historically changes in immigration policy have been in response to economic goals, labour shortages, and employment opportunities. The aforementioned factors have also been influential in migrants' choice of location and settlement pattern and composition in various regions across Canada (Hiebert, 2000; 1994; Green & Green, 1996; Kelly & Trebilock, 1998; Knowles, 1997). In the face of these changes, understanding how the settlement approach has directed the inflow of migrants is pertinent.

Di Biase and Bauder's (2004) analysis involving location measures in Canada has revealed that urban regions in Canada contain a greater mix of migrants in terms of period of immigration (Refer to Figure 9). According to Di Biase and Bauder, the period with the highest level of immigrant population was from 1981 to 1990 at 19.8% and lowest between 1961 to 1970 at 13.5%. The intermediate and rural regions had a distribution of migrant cohort who arrived in Canada predominantly before 1970s [Refer to Figure 10 and 11]. As before 1960s the intermediate regions had 34.5% immigrant population whilst from 1961 to 1970s, the figures dropped to 21.7% while the rural regions had 44.1% and 19.5% respectively (*Ibid.* 2004: 4-5). This phenomenon may be linked to the fact that post pioneer immigration period Canada's small towns and rural communities have not had sufficient resources and capacity to accommodate the needs of recent migrants. Chapters 2 to 4 highlighted the way in which immigration policy changes in the 1970s onwards transformed the type of migrants that entered Canada. These changes meant that migrants who were highly skilled and educated were permitted access. These migrants were more conscientious about the limitations in opportunities offered within the smaller communities, therefore increasingly opted to settle in urban areas.

Figure 9: Percent Immigrant Population: Urban Regions, 2001

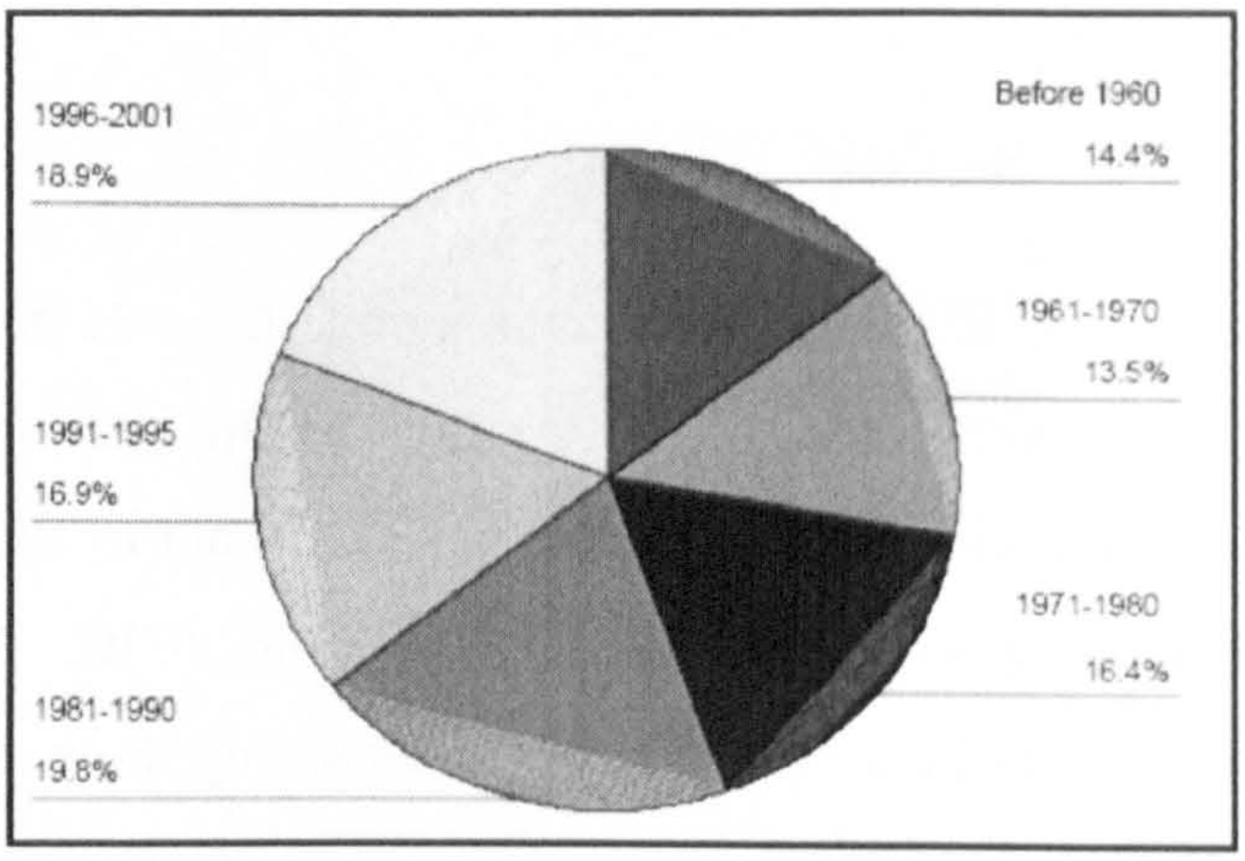


Figure 10: Percentage of Immigrant Population in Intermediate Regions, 2001

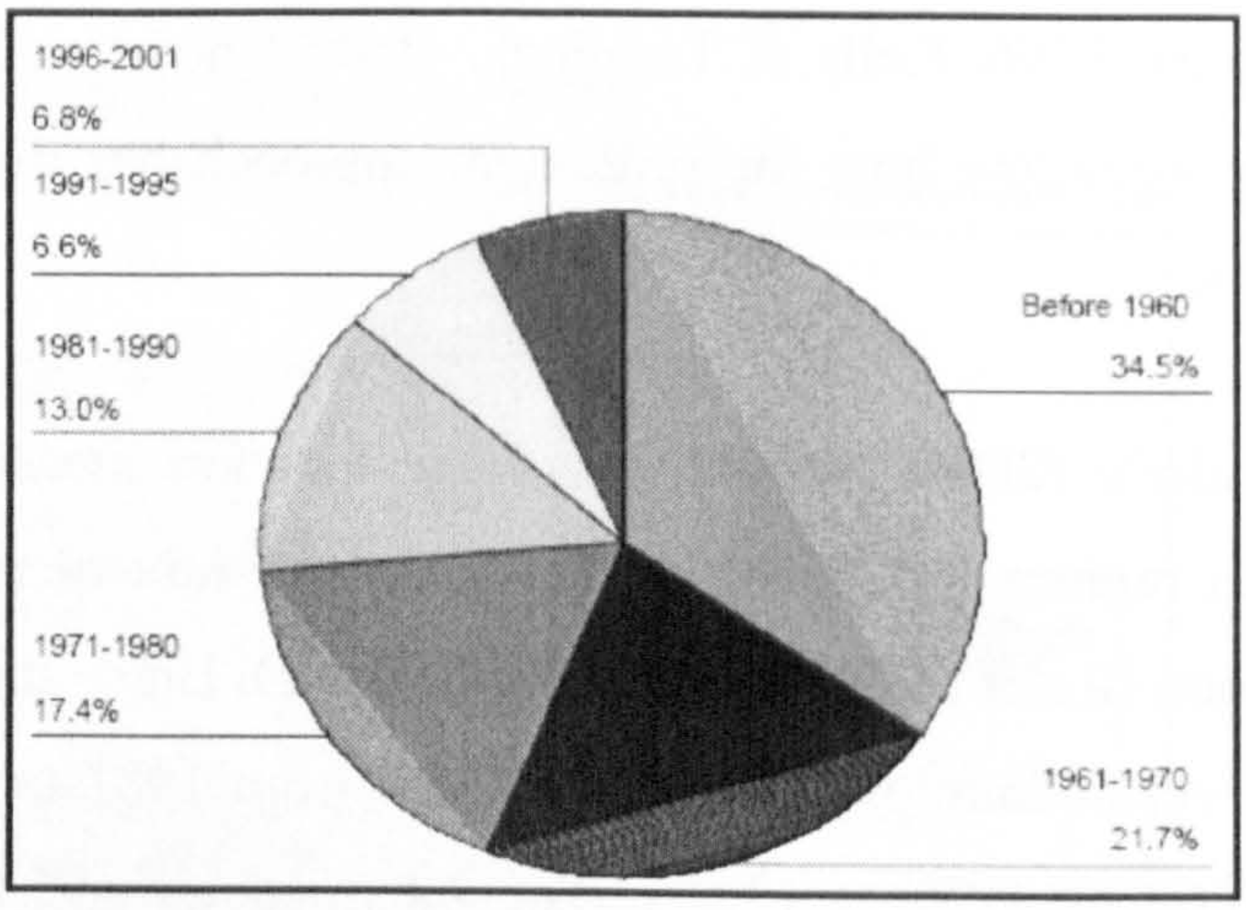
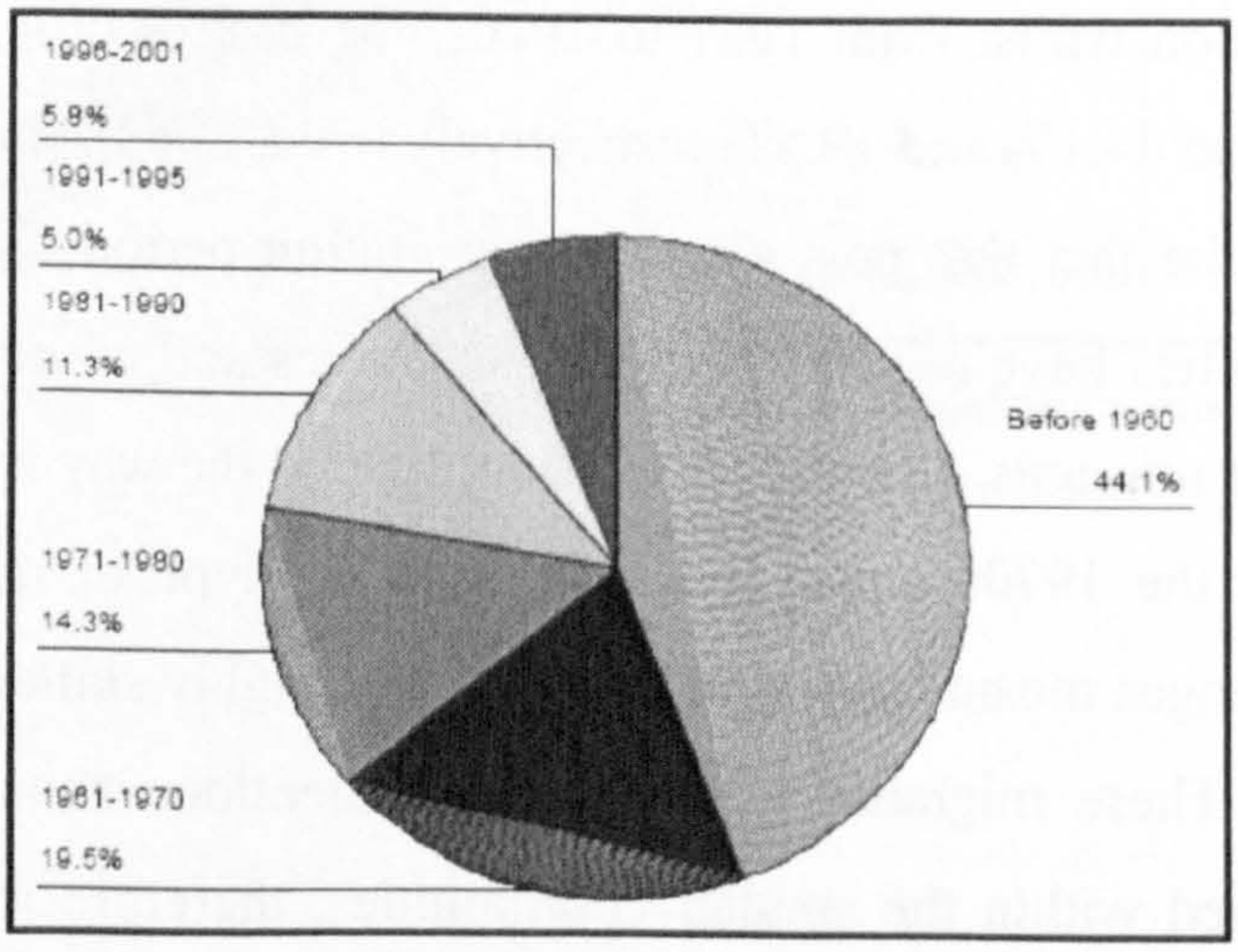


Figure 11: Percent Immigrant Population: Rural Regions, 2001



Source: Di Biase and Bauder (2004: 4-5) calculated from 2001 Canadian Census of Population.

Recent migrants in Ontario are known to concentrate in areas surrounding Toronto, as well as the medium-size cities such as Kitchener-Waterloo, Cambridge, Guelph, Hamilton, and London (Di Biase & Bauder, 2004: 6).

7.3.1 Racial Make-up

According to Statistics Canada (*The Daily*, Tues., March 22, 2005) in 2001, the *Employment Equity Act* found that 13% of the total Canadian population identified themselves as belonging to a visible minority group. The article further claimed that between 1996 and 2001 the visible minority population grew 25% while the total population increased only 4%.[90] As noted in chapter one and two, there has been a significant shift in the source countries of recent migrants and they tend to vary by metropolitan area. For instance, according to Schellenberg (2004: 12) within the top five CMA's there has been 20 to 25 percentage point decline in the share of migrants from North America, Western Europe, and Oceania. Conversely, all five CMAs have experienced a considerable increase in the shares of migrants from West Asia, South Asia, and East Asia (*Ibid.*).

A more detailed look at the specific countries from which recent migrants are arriving shows that in each of these CMAs, China was among the top five source countries followed by India, the Philippines, and Pakistan (*Statistics Canada*, LSIC, 2003b). However, since it was not possible to obtain a representative sample for the study (Refer to section 6.5) the sample obtained is not reflective of Canada's immigrant racial make-up.

Immigration data from the 2001 Census (released in January 2003) indicates that between October 2000 and September 2001 an estimated 164, 200 foreign migrants aged 15 years and older landed in Canada as permanent residents. "*The majority of*

[90] http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/050322/d050322b.htm, accessed date 15/02/07.

these newcomers, 68% were born in Asia, including the Middle East. Another 15% were from Europe, 9% from Africa and 6% from Central and South America and the Caribbean" (*Statistics Canada*, LSIC, 2003b). CIC's *Facts and Figures* (2005: 32) [Table 6] shows Canada's Immigrant Permanent Residents by Top Source Countries from 1996 to 2005. The table indicates that People's Republic of China and India have ranked first and second top source countries respectively since 1998.

Table 5: Canada's Immigrant Permanent Residents[91] by Top Source Countries 1996 to 2005

SOURCE COUNTRIES	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
China, People's Republic of	7.8	8.6	11.4	15.4	16.2	16.1	14.5	16.4	15.5	16.1
India	9.4	9.1	8.8	9.2	11.5	11.1	12.6	11.1	10.9	12.6
Philippines	5.8	5.0	4.7	4.9	4.5	5.2	4.8	5.4	5.6	6.7
Pakistan	3.4	5.2	4.6	4.9	6.2	6.1	6.2	5.6	5.4	5.2
United States	2.6	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.7	3.2	3.5
Colombia	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.9	1.9	2.3
United Kingdom	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.4	2.6	2.2
Korea, Republic of	1.4	1.9	2.8	3.8	3.4	3.8	3.2	3.2	2.3	2.2
Iran	2.6	3.5	3.9	3.1	2.5	2.3	3.4	2.6	2.6	2.1
France	1.5	1.3	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.1
Romania	1.6	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.4	1.9
Sri Lanka	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.8
Russia	1.1	1.7	2.5	2.0	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.4
Taiwan	5.9	6.2	4.1	2.9	1.6	1.2	1.3	1.0	0.8	1.2
Hong Kong	13.3	10.3	4.6	1.9	1.3	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7
Yugoslavia (former)	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.8	2.1	1.1	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.1
Top 10 source countries	**55.9**	**54.7**	**50.2**	**51.8**	**53.4**	**53.6**	**53.8**	**53.8**	**52.5**	**55.1**
Other countries	**44.1**	**45.4**	**49.8**	**48.2**	**46.6**	**46.4**	**46.2**	**46.2**	**47.5**	**44.9**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

SOURCE COUNTRIES	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Rank									
China, People's Republic of	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
India	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Philippines	5	6	3	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Pakistan	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
United States	8	9	9	7	7	6	8	6	5	5
Colombia	71	60	45	39	25	21	16	11	11	6
United Kingdom	10	10	11	10	10	10	10	9	7	7
Korea, Republic of	15	11	8	5	5	5	6	5	9	8
Iran	9	7	7	6	8	7	5	7	6	9
France	13	17	12	11	12	12	13	12	10	10
Romania	12	12	15	14	11	8	7	8	8	11
Sri Lanka	7	8	14	9	6	9	9	10	13	12
Russia	21	14	10	12	14	13	14	13	14	15
Taiwan	4	4	6	8	13	19	19	21	27	18
Hong Kong	1	1	5	13	17	29	32	32	33	31
Yugoslavia (former)	31	35	40	29	9	22	31	48	59	99

Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 32) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

Compared with other major urban areas in Ontario, London's foreign-born population comprise of a relatively high proportion of migrants who have lived in Canada for a considerable time. According to *Statistic Canada* (2003b: 25) "*a total of 19, 700 of*

[91] According to CIC, the data includes migrants who have been granted permanent resident status and have the right to enter and remain in Canada (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2004/glossary/index.html, accessed date 13/03/07).

London's residents had moved to Canada before 1961, slightly more than the 19, 500 immigrants who settled in London between 1991 and 2001."

The city of London has one of the highest percentages of people in a Canadian city who are of Anglo-Saxon, English, Scottish, and Irish descent. One-third of the population of the census metropolitan area of London reported English ethnic ancestry in the 2001 Census. London has the third highest proportion of residents with English ancestral origins of any metropolitan area in Canada, after St. John's and Victoria (*Statistic Canada*, 2003).[92] This reflects the long history of settlement of people from British Isles in Canada.

According to El-Hourani (2002), large portions of recent migrants to London are refugees. Figures from CIC indicate that recent migrant groups are predominantly from Poland, China, Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iraq, United States, Vietnam, Iran, Lebanon, and India. *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 25) analysis of 2001 Census indicates that migrants who came to Canada between 1991 and 2001 accounted for 4.6% of London's population, which was somewhat lower than the national average of 6.2%.

Table 6: Percentage of total population comprised of recent immigrants, selected CMAs, 1981 and 2001

	1981				2001			
	Recent immigrants	Immigrated 1981-1990	Immigrated before 1980	All immigrants	Recent immigrants	Immigrated 1981-1990	Immigrated before 1980	All immigrants
Toronto	13.2	10.7	14.0	38.0	17.3	9.2	17.9	44.4
Vancouver	10.6	6.8	12.2	29.6	16.8	7.4	14.0	38.2
Windsor	4.9	5.4	11.1	21.4	8.0	3.5	10.8	22.4
Calgary	8.8	4.5	7.9	21.1	7.4	4.5	9.3	21.2
Ottawa–Hull	4.2	3.8	5.8	13.8	6.8	3.7	7.3	17.8
Montréal	5.1	4.6	6.3	16.1	6.4	3.8	8.3	18.6
Kitchener	6.7	6.2	9.1	22.0	6.4	4.3	11.5	22.2
Hamilton	5.1	6.8	14.1	26.1	5.5	3.6	14.7	23.8
Edmonton	7.8	3.9	8.0	19.7	4.9	4.1	9.0	18.0
London	4.6	5.4	10.2	20.1	4.6	3.6	10.8	19.0
Winnipeg	6.0	3.7	9.5	19.2	4.0	3.4	9.2	16.7
Abbotsford	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	7.1	3.7	11.2	22.0
Victoria	4.5	4.3	14.7	23.5	3.3	2.7	13.1	19.0

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1981 and 2001.

Source: Schellenberg (2004: 17), http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, accessed date 06/05/06.

---

[92] *Statistics Canada* (2003) based on Census 2001, (http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/etoimm/subprovs.cfm#london, accessed date, 15/11/06).

Recent changes in immigration patterns have meant that the ethnocultural portrait of London is becoming more diverse. In 2001, those born in the United Kingdom accounted for only 2% of immigrants living in London who had arrived in Canada in the previous 10 years. Currently 20% of London's residents are immigrants. Increasingly London's foreign-born are coming from countries in Eastern Europe, Asia or the Middle East.

Table 7: Immigrant Population by Place of Birth, London, Ontario Metropolitan Area, (2001 Census)

Immigrant Population Places of Birth	Total
United States	4, 070
Central and South America	4, 285
Caribbean and Bermuda	2, 105
Europe	**50, 145**
United Kingdom	14, 875
Other Northern and Western Europe	10, 885
Eastern Europe	10, 250
Southern Europe	14, 140
Africa	**2, 955**
Asia	**16, 450**
West Central Asia and the Middle East	6, 135
Eastern Asia	3, 875
South East Asia	4, 050
Southern Asia	2, 385
Oceania and other	**405**
TOTAL	**80, 410**

Source: http://www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/demo35c.htm?sdi=london (accessed date, 07/07/05).

7.3.2 Gender and Age Composition

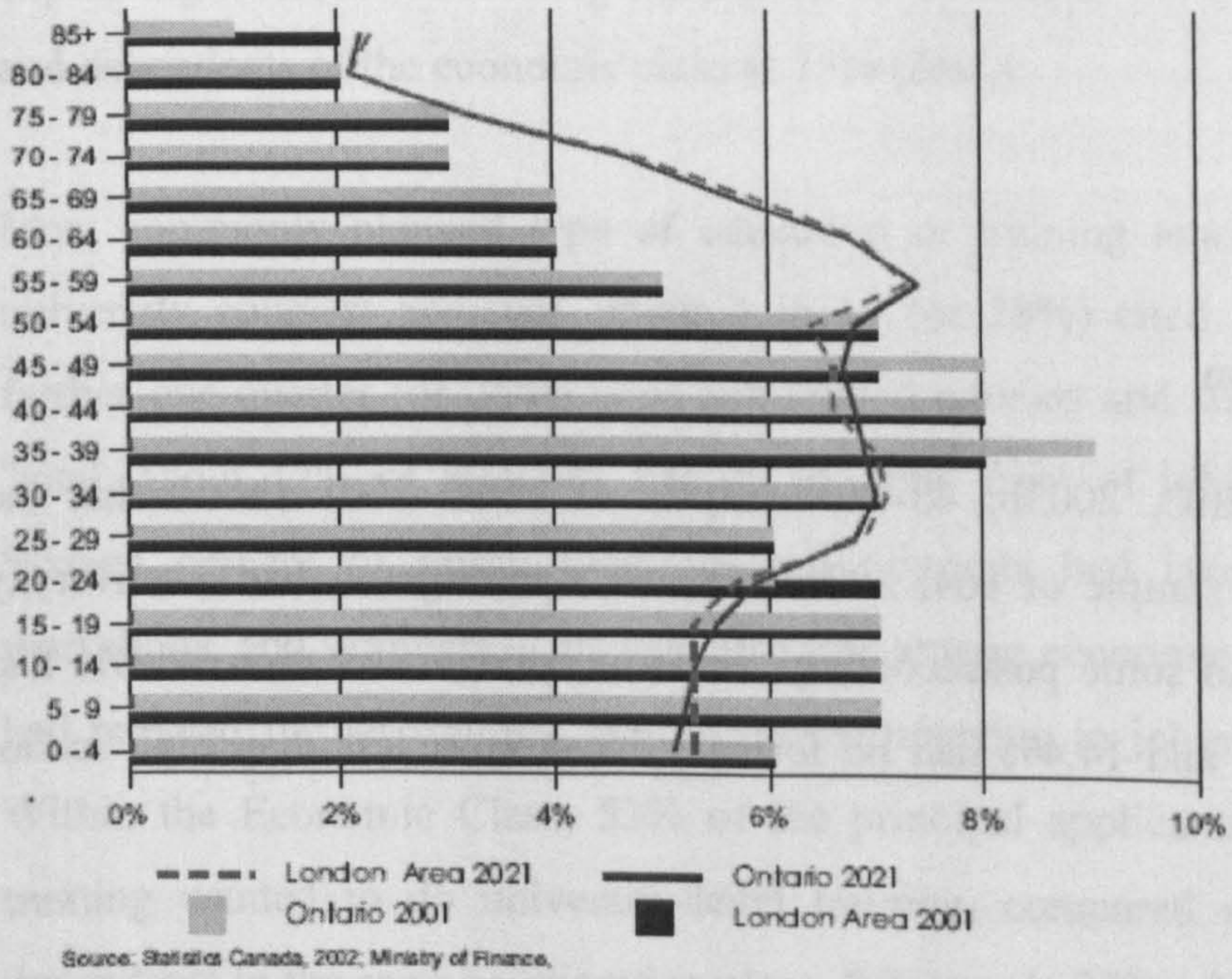
According to LSIC (2001: 45-46), amongst the principal applicant (61, 600) within the Economic class 77% are men and 23% women, whilst the spouse and dependents (47, 900) comprised of 25.3% men and 74.7% women. The family class (44, 100) had 37.5%

men and 62.5% women whilst amongst the refugees (9, 800) 49.1% were men and 56.9% were women [Appendix 17].

Concerning age, *Bank of Montreal* (2000) asserts that structurally the age composition of the London region population matches almost perfectly that of the Ontario population, with virtually the same proportions in each age group. Nevertheless, London's population has been aging over the past decade— a trend comparable across the country. According to the *Department of Community Services* (Social Research and Planning City of London, 2004: 6) in 2001:

- ***"The number of children ages 0-14 years dropped by 3.6% to 64,155, with the number of youth 15-24 years rising 7.9% to 47,605***
- ***The number of young adults 25-34 years dropped 14% to 47, 405***
- ***There were 55,370 adults aged 35-44 (up 4.7%) and 47, 305 adults aged 45-54 (up 19.5%)***
- ***Among seniors, those aged 55-64 jumped 14.3% to 29,670; those 65-74 years held steady (0.4%) at 23, 175***
- ***The number of older adults is rising significantly, with 16,145 seniors 75-75 years (22.1% increase) and 4, 710 aged 75 and up (a 17.7% rise)"***

Figure 12: The Age Distribution of London Area, 2001



Source: *Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing* (2003) London Area: In Profile (http://www.mah.gov.on.ca/userfiles/page_attachments/Library/1/3690720_Web_Final_-_Part_1.pdf, accessed date 21/03/07).

Within the current immigration system, migrants are awarded selection points for their age. Currently, they can gain maximum of 10 points based on their age at the time when the visa office receives their application. Within the present system, those between the ages of 21 to 49 are preferred (Refer to Table 9).

Table 8: Selection Points Awarded for Migrants' Age

Age	Points
Less than 17 years of age	0
17 years of age	2
18 years of age	4
19 years of age	6
20 years of age	8
21 - 49 years of age	10
50 years of age	8
51 years of age	6
52 years of age	4
53 years of age	2
More than 53 years of age	0

Source: CIC (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5-3.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

7.3.3 Level of Education

Statistics Canada's (LSIC, 2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001 shows that the majority, 54.7% out of sample of 164, 200 of Canada's immigrants had a university degree, while 19.1% had some postsecondary, trade or college education, 11.8% had high school graduation, and 14.4% had no formal education or less than high school [Appendix 16].

For many migrants, the key to labour market success depends on acquiring training in Canada and learning one or both of the official languages. The *Statistics Canada* (LSIC,

2003b: 23) showed that about 67% of the LSIC target population, or 109, 300 newcomers planned to further their education or training. However, migrants in the younger age group were most likely to continue their education. For instance, 9 in 10 newcomers aged 15 to 24 years stated that they planned to get further education after arriving in Canada. Seventy percent of those in the prime working-age group, the 25 to 44 years also expressed interest in further training, even though most of them had some formal education prior to immigration. Whilst, 42% of those aged 45 to 64 years intended to continue further education in Canada.

According to *Statistics Canada* (*Ibid.*), most of the migrants surveyed deemed that further education in Canada was helpful in ensuring their integration success. This was the case for 9 in 10 of the migrants from Central and South America and the Caribbean, and also Africa and Asia. The interest in furthering education was highest among migrants from Central and South America 82% compared to 67% of those born in Asia and the Middle East, 66% from Africa, and 62% of European-born migrants intended to obtain additional education or training post-migration to Canada (*Ibid*).

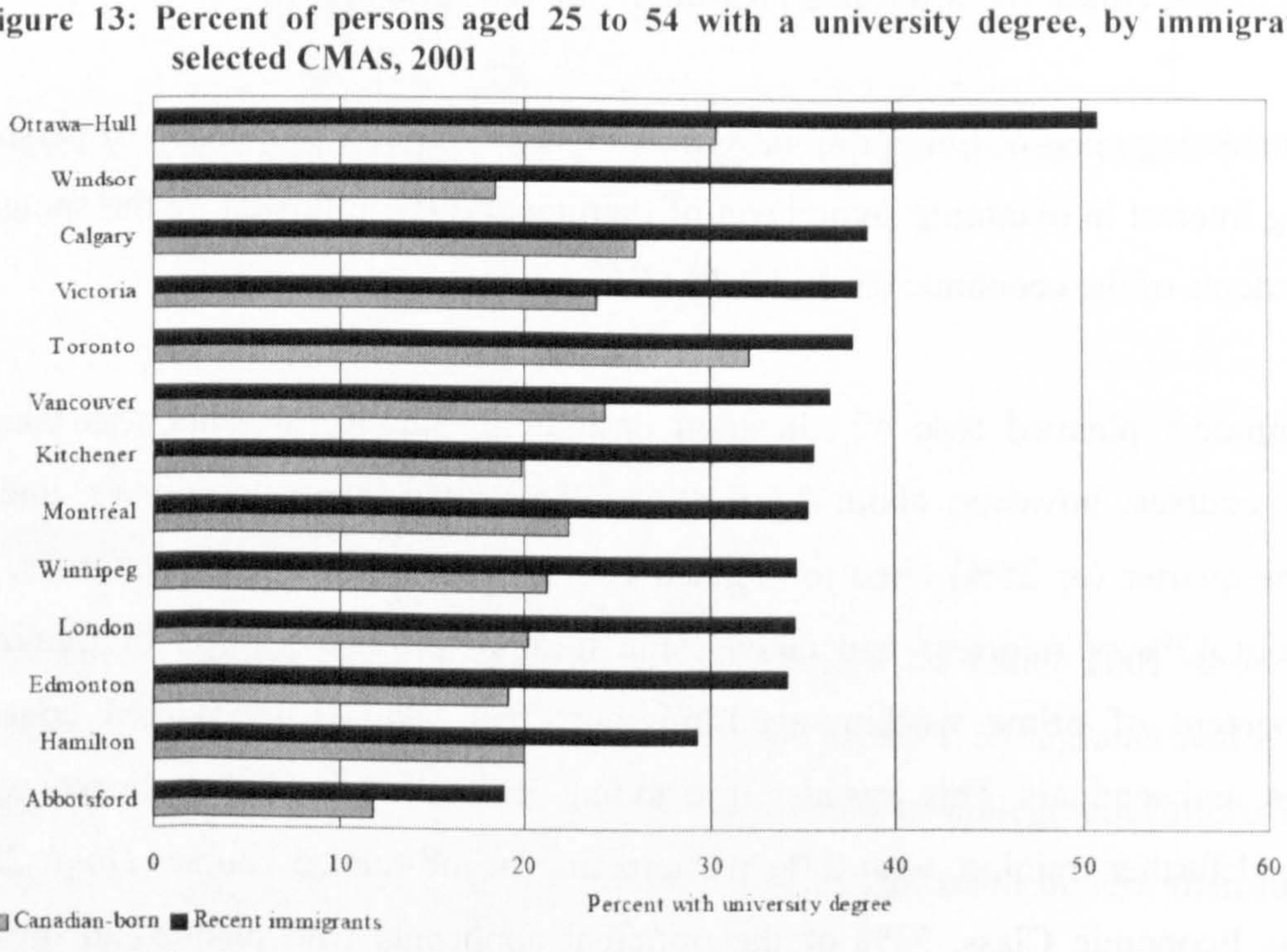
When considering class of immigration, refugees had the highest proportion of persons expressing interest in obtaining some level of training at 79%, followed by the spouses and dependents of the economic class at 75% (*Ibid.*).

Most commonly planned type of education or training among migrants was taking university courses; however, about 3 in 10 (or 28%) cited language courses, and a further one-quarter (or 25%) cited job-related courses and workshops or seminars. In Total, about 12% of migrants had taken some form of job-related type of training. Sixteen percent of prime working-aged migrants had taken a job-related course, workshops, and seminars. This was also true among economic principal applicants who had pursued further training, with 23% participating in job-related courses (*Ibid*: 25). Within the Economic Class, 53% of the principal applicants who planned to obtain training wanted to do university-level training, compared with 42% of spouses or dependents in the same immigration class. While only 27% of immigrants in the refugee class, and 23% in the family class intended to do the same (*Ibid*: 24).

The *Statistics Canada* (LSIC, 2003b: 24) assert that nearly half of the migrants within the target population who arrived between October 2000 and September 2001 had started educational courses or training six months after arriving in Canada. Of these migrants 45% (or 73, 500) of them had already pursued some kind of education, including language instruction (*Ibid*: 25). According to the *Adult Education and Training Survey*, this participation rate was much higher than the Canadian average of 28% recorded in 1997[93] (*Ibid*: 24). Language and lack of money were identified as the most common barriers to further education, whilst the unavailability of specific courses was cited by 11% of the migrants as another major barrier (*Ibid*: 25).

Anderssen and Alphonso (2003: A6) claim that migrants in Ontario are typically more educated than the average Ontario residents. Schellenberg (2004: 18) highlights how migrants are generally more likely to have post-secondary credentials than the Canadian-born population (Refer to Figure 14).

Figure 13: Percent of persons aged 25 to 54 with a university degree, by immigration status, selected CMAs, 2001



Source: Schellenberg (2004: 18), http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, accessed date 06/05/06.

---

[93] The *Adult Education and Training Survey* used a sample of the adult population aged 17 years and older that had enrolled in training activities after completing their initial education.

Schellenberg asserts that in most CMAs the share of recent migrants aged 25 to 54 who have a university degree is about 12 to 15 percentage points higher than the share of Canadian-born individuals in the same age group (*Ibid*: 33). In fact, Table 9 from 2001 shows total of 10.5% of persons aged 25 to 54 were attending school on a part-time or full-time in London in comparison to other CMA's in Canada. Out of this percentage 9.8% were Canadian born relative to 25.9% were immigrants who immigrated in the past ten years and 7.3% were immigrants who were in Canada twenty years or more.

Table 9: Percent of persons aged 25 to 54 attending school on a part-time or full-time basis, by immigration status, selected CMAs, 2001

	Canadian-born	Immigrated within past 10 years	Immigrated 11 to 20 years earlier	Immigrated more than 20 years ago	Total
			percent		
London	9.8	25.9	10.4	7.3	10.5
Ottawa–Hull	10.4	25.3	13.8	8.4	11.7
Kitchener	9.7	23.4	11.2	7.1	10.6
Montréal	10.0	22.0	12.3	7.7	10.9
Winnipeg	10.9	21.3	11.4	7.7	11.2
Windsor	8.2	19.6	9.0	5.3	9.1
Edmonton	10.9	19.6	12.3	8.7	11.3
Victoria	13.0	19.1	13.1	9.2	12.8
Hamilton	9.7	19.0	9.6	6.9	10.0
Calgary	10.9	18.1	10.2	8.9	11.3
Vancouver	12.7	18.1	11.0	9.0	13.1
Toronto	9.8	16.9	10.5	7.1	11.0
Abbotsford	10.7	11.5	9.7	6.7	10.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001.

Source: Schellenberg (2004: 45), http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, accessed date 06/05/06.

When considering level of education in London, Ontario *Bank of Montreal* (2000) identified that the main area where there appears to be differences between London and other areas in Canada is with regards to the level of education but even this is not particularly significant. Local demographics render London region a microcosm of the province of Ontario. Currently, high proportions of newcomers in this area have university education.

7.4 LONDON'S ECONOMY

The following section will concentrate on London's economy and compare it with other CMA's in Ontario and across Canada. It will discuss its labour force, industry, skills shortages, and compare it to the skill levels of recent migrants.

According to *Clayton Research Associates Limited* (2006: i), over the past 20 years employment growth in Canada has averaged at 1.7% per year. Aging population is the main cause for the gradual decline in the net pace of job creation and labour shortages in Canada. Ontario has traditionally outperformed Canada in terms of both economic and employment growth. The average 20 years rates of employment growth in Ontario have been 1.7% per year, which is 0.2% faster than the national average (*Ibid.*).

7.4.1 London's Labour Force

According to *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001 Census, the cities with the highest percentages of Economic class were Toronto with 69.9%, Vancouver 68% and Ottawa 60.9%; Family class Calgary 27.8, Vancouver 27.3%, and Ottawa 27.1%; Refugees Ottawa 9.6%, Calgary 8.3%, and Toronto 3.3% [Appendix 16]. Table 11, Census 2001 analysis shows that the top three CMA's with the highest percentage of recent migrants (those who arrived in the years 1991 to 1999) aged 25 to 54 who were unemployed were Montreal 15.3%, followed by Windsor 11.7%, and Ottawa-Hull 10.9%. London was in the seventh place with 10.2%. However, the percentages for the Canadian-born were significantly lower with 5.2%, 4.2%, 3.4%, and 4.8% respectively.

Table 10: Labour Force Participants aged 25 to 54 Percent Who Were Unemployed, By Immigration Status, and Selected CMAs, 2001[94]

	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants*	Ratio
Winnipeg	4.5	5.3	1.19
Calgary	3.6	5 4	1.49
Edmonton	4 1	5.9	1 46
Victoria	5 1	7 6	1.49
Toronto	3.5	8.0	2.27
Vancouver	5 0	9.6	1.93
London	4.8	10.2	2.13
Kitchener	3.5	10.6	3.04
Hamilton	3 8	10 7	2.85
Abbotsford	5 4	10 8	2.00
Ottawa–Hull	3 4	10 9	3 19
Windsor	4.2	11.7	2 81
Montréal	5 2	15 3	2 94

* Recent immigrants are limited to those who arrived in the years 1991 to 1999 inclusive.
Source Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 2001

Source: Schellenberg, G. (2004: 52), http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, accessed date 06/05/06.

Statistics Canada's (2001a) analysis of provinces and selected CMAs illustrates that Ontario had the highest level of labour force participation at 29.1% for all migrants and 9.2% for migrants who arrived from 1991-2000, whilst Newfoundland and Labrador had the lowest at respectively 1.9% and 0.4%. Out of the CMA's in Ontario, Toronto had the highest level of labour force participation at 47.2% for all migrants, 17.1% for migrants who arrived from 1991-2000 whilst Ottawa-Hull had the lowest at 17.7% and 6.1% respectively [Refer to Appendix 15].

According to Mark Fraser (2003: 43) *The Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities* in 2000 revealed that the unemployment rate of internationally educated professionals was over three times higher than other people in Ontario. Sixty percent of those internationally educated professionals who took jobs unrelated to their training when they first came to Canada held the same job three years later. Less than one-quarter of internationally educated professionals were employed in their exact field, and 47% were doing something unrelated to their field.

Another study by the *Canadian Labour and Business Centre* (CLBC: 2004) adds to these findings. This study found that it now takes more than 10 years in Canada before

[94] The data is based on labour force activities of Canadians during the week prior to the Census (May 15th, 2001); the incidence of employment has been calculated as the proportion of the population employed during that week.

the unemployment rate among migrants drops to the level of native-born Canadians. This is double the time it took 20 years earlier. As a result, the Canadian economy pays a price. Lochhead (2003: 2) asserts "*Apart from issues of equity, health and well-being, or social cohesion, all Canadians should be concerned about a deepening transition penalty* [the time it takes migrant unemployment rates to match native-born rates] *because it constitutes a large and growing under-utilisation of labour and skills, which is particularly important in light of growing concerns about skill shortages*".

According to Table 11 of London's metropolitan area labour force, 347, 700 of population were aged 15+ in October to December 2002. Out of this population, 239, 100 were in the labour force with a participation rate of 67.6%. Out of those participating 224, 700 were employed with an employment rate of 64.5% with 176, 400 individuals in full-time employment and 47, 400 in part-time. However, 14, 400 were unemployed comprising an unemployment rate of 6.0% (*Statistics Canada*, 2003).

Table 11: London Census Metropolitan Area Labour Force Trends

	Oct - Dec 2003	Jul - Sept 2003	Oct –Dec 2002	Change			
				Quarter/Quarter		Year/Year	
				Absolute	%	Absolute	%
Population 15 +	347,700	347,900	346,300	700	0.2	2,400	0.7
Labour Force	239,100	241,700	231,000	-2,700	-1.1	7,100	3.5
Employed	224,700	223,700	217,700	1,100	-0.5	6,000	2.7
Full-time	176,400	171,400	171,700	-5,000	-2.7	4,700	2.7
Part-time	47,400	42,300	47,100	6,100	14.4	1,300	2.7
Unemployed	14,400	17,100	12,200	-3,700	-20.4	2,200	17 .0
Not in Labour Force	109,500	106,100	115,300	3,400	3.2	-5,700	-5.0
Participation Rate (%)	67.6	69.5	66.7	-0.9		1.9	
Unemployment Rate (%)	6.0	7.5	5.3	-1.5		0.7	
Employment Rate (%)	64.5	64.3	63.2	-0.2		1.3	

* Note: Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: *Statistics Canada*, Labour Force Survey (2003).

Since this thesis is concerned with, the FTP migrant population Table 12 shows employment rates by immigrant status aged 25 to 54 from selected CMAs comparing 1971, 1991, and 2001. In London 83.1 of Canadian born in 2001 were employed relative to only 61.0 of recent immigrant and 81.5 of long-term immigrants.

Table 12: Employment Rates by Immigrant Status, Selected CMAs, Age 25-54

	Canadian born			Recent immigrants[b]			Medium term immigrants[c]			Long-term immigrants[d]		
	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001
Montréal	70.7	76.6	82.4	72.0	59.2	60.3	77.7	73.2	71.8	75.5	75.3	78.2
Ottawa–Hull	78.0	83.1	85.3	74.8	68.6	65.7	79.6	82.1	79.5	80.8	85.0	84.9
Toronto	81.8	84.0	85 6	81.3	71.5	71.3	83.3	81.6	81.5	81.7	81.9	83.1
Hamilton	76.7	80.2	82.7	74.1	67.4	67.6	78.4	79.7	79.0	77.4	81.3	80.4
Kitchener	80.0	83.0	86.2	77.9	69.1	67.3	81 9	80.4	80.6	79.2	82.8	84.0
London	79.0	82.3	83.1	75.4	66.2	61.0	80.1	80.9	79.1	78.9	82.4	81.5
Windsor	71.2	75.7	82 3	63.0	61.7	62.1	68 9	73 1	77 1	70.4	74.4	78.4
Winnipeg	78.6	80.9	83.4	83.7	73.7	76.7	83.1	84.5	86.2	78.2	84.1	85.3
Calgary	82.1	83.4	86.3	81.0	73.5	74.9	81 5	83 2	83.3	82.1	83.9	85.6
Edmonton	80.7	82.4	84.1	80.5	71.6	74.3	82.0	81.4	81.8	80.9	82.7	83.4
Abbotsford	72.6	78.9	80 9	73.3	62 7	72.6	80 7	75.8	75.3	74.0	80.1	80 4
Vancouver	78.8	81.2	83.0	77.8	68.9	63.4	81.1	81.9	77.2	79.1	81.5	82.0
Victoria	78.0	82.1	82 8	74.0	75.4	73.1	81.6	82.5	81.7	79.7	81.5	83 1
All CMAs	75.7	80.1	83.2	78.2	68.9	68.0	81.0	80.4	79.5	79.2	81.0	82.4
Non-CMAs	70.0	74 7	77 5	70 9	72.7	74 0	76 1	79 6	79 6	75.3	80.8	80 9
All Canada	73.1	77.9	80.9	77.1	69.2	68.3	80.2	80.3	79.5	78.3	81.0	82.1

a. Includes population aged 25–54 only. Excludes non-permanent residents and institutional residents. Refers to labour force status in the week prior to the date of census collection.
b. Recent immigrants are those who immigrated in the 10 years preceding the census.
c. Medium-term immigrants are those who immigrated between 10 and 20 years preceding the census.
d. Long-term immigrants are those who immigrated more than 20 years preceding the census.
Source: Census of Canada, 1981, 1991, 2001.

Source: Heisz, A. *et al.* (2005: 24) http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection/Statcan/89-613-MIE/89-613-MIE2005006.pdf, accessed date 24/04/07.

Among recent immigrants, full-time/full-year employment was more prevalent for those with higher levels of educational attainment and longer residency in Canada (Schellenberg, 2004) [Refer to Table 13].

Table 13: Persons aged 25 to 54 who had employment during 2000–percent that were employed full-time/full-year, by gender and immigration status, selected CMAs

	Females			Males		
	Canadian-born	Recent immigrant	Ratio	Canadian-born	Recent immigrant	Ratio
			percent			
Toronto	62.9	50.5	0 80	77.0	62.0	0 81
Vancouver	54 4	41 3	0 76	69 1	53 8	0 78
Windsor	59.1	49 1	0 83	77.4	63.3	0.82
Calgary	57 7	41 8	0 72	73 9	59 0	0 80
Ottawa–Hull	65.5	47.1	0.72	76.9	60 6	0.79
Montréal	59 0	42 2	0 71	71 0	54 5	0 77
Kitchener	59 7	41.0	0 69	81.3	66 1	0 81
Hamilton	59.3	42.2	0.71	78 1	59 9	0 77
Edmonton	54.9	45.3	0.82	71 8	61 4	0 85
London	59.3	43.2	0.73	75.6	54.1	0.71
Winnipeg	60.1	53.6	0.89	75 1	67 0	0.89
Victoria	53.3	41.2	0.77	67.2	56 2	0.84
Abbotsford	47.5	30.3	0 64	70.7	57.7	0.82

* Recent immigrants are limited to those who arrived in the years 1991 to 1999 inclusive.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001

Source: Schellenberg (2004: 54)
http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, date accessed 06/05/06.

As discussed in Chapter 1 the extent to which recent migrants are able to find jobs commensurate with their training and experience is an important consideration. Recent evidence indicates that once they have entered the Canadian labour market, immigrants receive low financial returns on the educational credentials and work experience they acquired outside of Canada (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Ferrer & Riddell, 2003; Alboim, Finnie and Meng, 2003). To surmount the difficulties they encounter many immigrants choose to be self-employed if they have the capital to do so. Table 14 shows persons aged 25 to 54 who were self-employed by immigration status in selected CMA's for 2001. Only 10.0% of the Canadian born in London in comparison to 12.2% of recent immigrants were self-employed, showing the higher propensity of immigrants to engage in self-employment.

Table 14: Persons aged 25 to 54 who had employment during 2000–percent, who were self-employed, by immigration status, selected CMAs, 2001

	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants*	Ratio
		percent	
Victoria	13.7	16.2	1.18
Vancouver	13 1	15 5	1 18
Loudon	10 0	12.2	1.22
Toronto	12 0	11 2	0.94
Abbotsford	15.0	11.1	0.74
Montréal	10.1	10.7	1.05
Calgary	13.0	10.6	0.81
Hamilton	9.2	9 6	1.04
Edmonton	11.0	9.4	0.85
Windsor	7.0	8.2	1.17
Kitchener	9.3	8.1	0.87
Ottawa–Hull	9.4	7.7	0.82
Winnipeg	9 1	6.2	0 69

* Recent immigrants limited to those who arrived in the years 1991 to 1999 inclusive.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001.

Source: Schellenberg (2004: 54)
http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, date accessed 06/05/06.

The *National Occupational Classification* (NOC)[95] may be used to identify the types of jobs held by migrants. According to HRDC (2001), the NOC defines skill levels in

[95] NOC has five occupational skill levels for permanent residents 15 years of age or older as well as for foreign workers. This study particularly focuses on Skill level O and A:
- Skill level O (managerial): management occupations
- Skill level A (professionals): professional occupations in business and finance; natural and applied sciences; health; social science, education, government service, and religion; and art and culture Educational or training requirements: university degree.

terms of "*the nature of education and training required to work in an occupation...the experience required for entry, and the complexity of the responsibilities involved in the work*"[96]. In addition to managerial occupations, which are classified as a distinct group, the NOC categorises occupations into four mutually exclusive categories. At the highest skill level (A) are occupations that usually require university education, such as accounting, engineering, or law. The next skill level (B) comprises occupations that usually require college education or apprenticeship training, such as technical jobs, construction trades and skilled equipment operations. Skill level (C) are occupations that usually require high school or occupation-specific training, such as data entry clerks, delivery drivers, retail sales clerks, and printing machine operators. The lowest skill level (D) includes jobs that usually require on-the-job training or no formal educational requirements, such as cashiers, janitors, and construction labourers.

The distributions of recent immigrants and Canadian-born persons across these occupational skill categories are shown in Table 15. A number of points can be drawn from this table. Within virtually every CMA, the share of recent migrants employed in jobs at skill levels C and D were higher than the share of Canadian-born individuals. For example as the table indicates, in 2000 London had 8.8% of Canadian-born in comparison to 16.5% recent migrants employed in skill level D. The Table as well demonstrates how although migrants on average tend to have higher levels of educational attainment than Canadian-born, they tend to be employed in jobs with lower skill requirements post-migration to Canada.

Table 15: Persons aged 25 to 54 who had employment during 2000–distribution across occupational skill levels, by immigration status, selected CMAs, Canada 2001

[96] *Human Resources and Skills Development Canada*, NOC (2001) Training Tutorial, http://www23.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/2001/e/tutorial/sklevel.shtml, accessed date 08/05/06.

	Managers	Skill level A	Skill level B	Skill level C	Skill level D	Total
Toronto						
Canadian-born	17 2	23.6	28 1	25.9	5.2	100.0
Recent immigrants	9.1	18.4	23 6	36.5	12.3	100 0
Vancouver						
Canadian-born	13.4	20 7	31 0	28 2	6.7	100 0
Recent immigrants	11.8	16.9	24 9	32.5	13 9	100 0
Windsor						
Canadian-born	9 6	15.2	29 8	35.9	9.5	100 0
Recent immigrants	7 5	21.4	24 1	32 4	14 6	100 0
Calgary						
Canadian-born	14.4	21.9	31.2	26.5	6.0	100.0
Recent immigrants	7.3	19.2	26.2	32.2	15.1	100.0
Ottawa–Hull						
Canadian-born	15.1	27.8	28.2	23 0	5.9	100.0
Recent immigrants	7.5	37.4	20.0	25.6	9.6	100.0
Montréal						
Canadian-born	12.1	19.9	31.2	29 1	7.7	100.0
Recent immigrants	8 8	19 4	24 0	34.2	13 6	100.0
Kitchener						
Canadian-born	12.7	17.6	29.9	31 6	8.3	100.0
Recent immigrants	6 9	19 7	25 6	34 6	13 2	100 0
Hamilton						
Canadian-born	13.1	18 2	31.1	29 2	8 3	100 0
Recent immigrants	7.2	15.5	26 9	32.7	17.7	100.0
Edmonton						
Canadian-born	12.3	18.0	33.9	28.8	7.0	100.0
Recent immigrants	7.5	17.2	28 1	30.6	16.7	100.0
London						
Canadian-born	11.3	18 6	29.6	31 8	8.8	100.0
Recent immigrants	8.8	21.1	23.1	30.4	16.5	100.0
Winnipeg						
Canadian-born	11.3	18 8	28.7	33.1	8.1	100.0
Recent immigrants	4 5	15.2	24 4	42.5	13 5	100 0
Abbotsford						
Canadian-born	10.6	12.9	34.2	32 2	10 0	100 0
Recent immigrants	4.4	7.2	20.1	46 4	21 8	100.0
Victoria						
Canadian-born	12 4	20.5	30.3	28.7	8 0	100.0
Recent immigrants	10.7	23 2	23 7	27 6	15 0	100 0

* Recent immigrants are limited to those who arrived in the years 1991 to 1999 inclusive.

Source: Schellenberg (2004: 55)
http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, date accessed 06/05/06.

7.4.2 London's Industry

Based on Labour Force Survey data from *Statistics Canada*, *Clayton Research* (2006: 22, Table 16) shows employment by industry in Ontario from 1991 to 2005. In 2001 Manufacturing, Trade, Health Care Services, Educational Services, and Fire were the industries with the highest employees.

Table 16: Employment by Industry, Ontario, 1991 to 2005

	1987	1991	1996	2001	2005	Change 2001-2005
			# persons employed			
Primary	4,700	5,100	5,000	5,900	5,600	(300)
Manufacturing	38,000	36,300	30,400	36,000	38,200	2,200
Construction	10,400	10,000	10,200	13,800	13,400	(400)
Transportation and warehousing	6,500	7,900	8,900	9,200	10,300	1,100
Trade	31,800	36,600	32,200	32,500	36,100	3,600
FIRE	10,100	18,500	16,100	15,800	18,400	2,600
Prof , scient. and tech services	7,000	7,700	10,200	12,300	14,900	2,600
Mgmt of companies/admin services	4,100	5,700	6,200	10,100	13,000	2,900
Educational services	14,500	18,200	19,000	20,000	20,400	400
Health care services	27,000	25,500	27,900	30,600	33,000	2,400
Information, culture and recreation	7 700	9,200	7,700	8,900	9,100	200
Accommodation and food services	13 700	11,900	11,600	14,500	13,300	(1,200)
Other services	9 200	8,400	9,700	10,200	8,400	(1,800)
Public administration	5,500	7,400	7,800	9,100	8,900	(200)
Total employed	190 200	208,500	202,900	228,800	243,100	14,300
			% distribution			
Primary	2 5	2 4	2 5	2 6	2 4	
Manufacturing	20 0	17 4	15 0	15 7	16 7	
Construction	5.5	4 8	5 0	6.0	5 9	
Transportation and warehousing	3 4	3 8	4 4	4 0	4 5	
Trade	16 7	17 6	15 9	14 2	15 8	
FIRE	5 3	8 9	7 9	6 9	8 0	
Prof , scient and tech services	3 7	3 7	5 0	5 4	6 5	
Mgmt of companies/admin services	2 2	2 7	3 1	4 4	5 7	
Educational services	7 6	8 7	9 4	8 7	8 9	
Health care services	14 2	12.2	13 8	13 4	14.4	
Information, culture and recreation	4 0	4 4	3 8	3 9	4 0	
Accommodation and food services	7 2	5 7	5 7	6 3	5 8	
Other services	4 8	4 0	4 8	4 5	3 7	
Public administration	2 9	3 5	3 8	4 0	3 9	
Total employed	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	

* Place of residence basis, industry classification based on NAICS

Source: *Clayton Research* (2006: 22) based on data from *Statistics Canada* (Labour Force Survey) http://www.london.ca/Planning/OfficialPlanReview/ClaytonReport.pdf, date accessed, 01/04/07).

Looking more specifically at London, Ontario, its economy features a healthy diversity where five major sectors are currently contributing to its growth and success in exports.

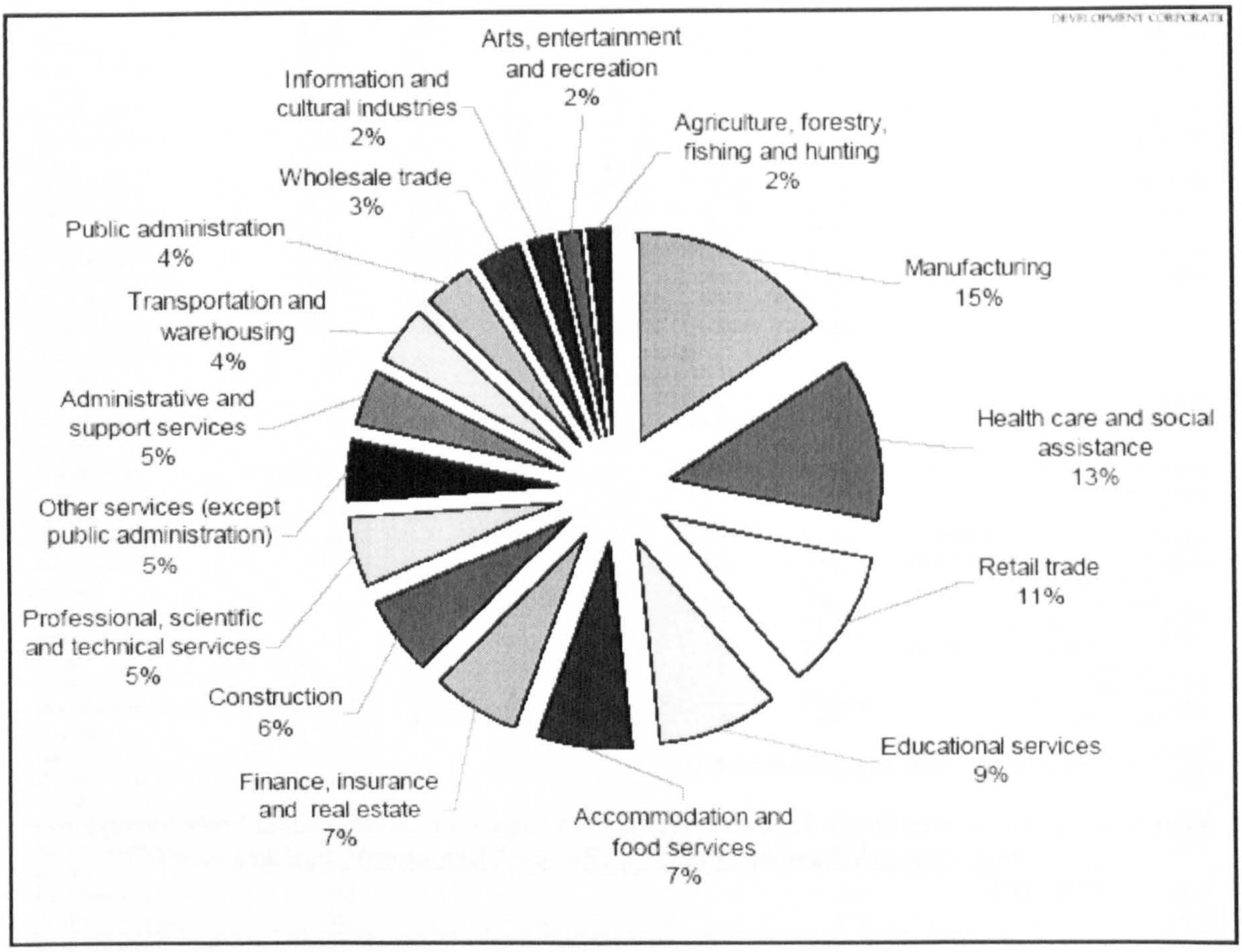
Table 17: Employment Structure of London CMA

Top Five Industries for 2001	Percent of Total Workforce
1. Manufacturing	15.42%
2. Health Care	12.72%
3. Retail Trade	10.74%
4. Educational Services	9.12%
5. Accommodation and Food	6.94%

* There is a discrepancy in retail trade figures prior to 1997 and post 1997.

Source: Lakhotia, K. (2001), (www.londonedc.com/statpub/publications/pdf/londonsEconomy.pdf, accessed date 16/11/03).

Figure 14: Employment Percentages in Various Employment Sector within London CMA (2001 Census)



Source: Lakhotia, K. (2001), (www.londonedc.com/statpub/publications/pdf/londonsEconomy.pdf, accessed date 16/11/03).

As Figure 14 demonstrates, the large sectors (greater than 10%) in London CMA comprise of manufacturing, retail trade, and health services. The medium-sized sectors comprise educational services; accommodation and food services; finance, insurance, and real estate; construction, and professional, and scientific services. The small sectors (less than 5%) are administrative and support services; transportation and warehousing; wholesale trade; and public administration.

Table 18: Large Employers in London area, 2001

Large Employers, 2001

Private & Institutional Sectors	# of Employees
London Health Sciences Centre	5,000-10,000
The University of Western Ontario	5,000-10,000
St. Joseph's Health Care London	2,500-5,000
TD Canada Trust	2,500-5,000
Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd.	2,500-5,000
General Motors of Canada Ltd., Diesel Division	2,500-5,000
3M Canada Company	1,000-2,500
Sterling Trucks, Div. Of Freightliner Ltd.	1,000-2,500
Bowes Publishers Ltd.	1,000-2,500
London Life Insurance Co	1,000-2,500
Bell Canada	1,000-2,500
Air Ontario	1,000-2,500
Cuddy Food Products	1,000-2,500
Public Sector	
Municipal	3,425
Provincial	2,600
Federal	2,500

Sources. HRDC, Statistics Canada.

Source: *The Conference Board of Canada* (2003: 6), www.londonedc.com/statpub/publications/pdf/EWI/Appendix_9.pdf, accessed date 11/07/06.

7.4.3 London's Skill Shortages

London is a model city of the bigger Canadian picture. London's unemployment rates are below both the provincial and national rates. As London's labour market skill demands increasingly emphasise the rapidly growing Information Technology, e-commerce and dot-com enterprises, there is an increased focus on young, educated workers (Janzen, Gogic & Lymburner, 2003: 4). Although London has a vibrant economy, it has as well documented skill shortages. Currently, London is facing a need for workers in the social service sector, particularly in the education and health-care sectors as well as skilled workers in the auto and construction industries (Janzen *et al.*, 2003).

According to Janzen, Gogic, and Lymburner's (2003), 'Labour Market Scan' (*cited in* Centre for Research and Education in Human Services '*Voices for Change*', 2003: 6) the ten most needed professions in the city of London in 2002 were:

"1. Nurse/Practical Nurse

2. Teacher

3. Physicians or Surgeon

4. Engineering Technician

5. Engineer

6. Medical Radiation Technologist

7. Medical Laboratory Technologist

7. Respiratory Therapist

9. Dental Surgeon

10. Dental Technologist"

As the above list indicates, the shortage of health professionals is of particular concern. Thus far, based on the analysis of the available statistics (Refer to Figure 14 and Table 12, 13, 15) it is unclear how London's skills shortages are being addressed through the national immigration policy. The figures indicate that highly educated migrants are permitted to migrate to Canada and are represented within London's population. However, they are underrepresented within London's labour market and those that are employed are predominantly working in low skill-level occupations. This vagueness also highlights the current difficulties smaller CMA's are currently encountering in assisting recent FTP migrants with finding suitable employment and fully integrate within the local labour market. This point will be further analysed through the empirical data in chapter eight and nine and the conclusion.

7.4.4 Skill Levels of Recent Migrants to London

Recent immigrants have brought a variety of skills to the London area. Many of these skills match the very professions and trades that are most needed within the city. *London Cross Cultural Learner Centre*[97] (CCLC: 2003) recorded that from "*April 2002 to March 2003 there were 139 professional engineers, 76 medical professionals and 54*

[97] CCLC is one of the main settlement agencies operating in London, Ontario.

teachers who were assisted by the centre" (CCLC, 2003 '*Major Professions of New Clients' cited in* Centre for Research and Education in Human Services '*Voices for Change*', 2003: 8). In another report, CCLC [2003, '*Medical Professionals in London Seeking Help from CCLC*'] emphasised that between 1999 and 2003 it had 245 medical professionals as clients. CCLC claimed that many of the clients were educated in the top 10 professions needed by London, including *"80 Medical Doctors, 42 Nurses, 27 Dentists, 16 Lab Technicians/ Technologists, and 2 Radiologists"* (*Ibid.*).[98]

Through this report, CCLC drew attention to the employment experience of the internationally educated medical doctors. The results from a random survey with 14 of the 80 medical doctors revealed that most had come to Canada within the past four years. Only four were still employed—two as line workers, one as a research assistant, and another as a health care aid. Half of them had been employed while in Canada, however none was working as medical doctors, in fact, and they were working as cabinetmaker, library worker, general labourer, and delivering flyers. The other half were in somewhat related field and working as aid worker in nursing home, hospital care worker, medical assistant, and instructor of pathology. However, the work they found in Canada was typically short-term (less than one year in length) and often ranged from 3 to 44 hours per week (*Ibid*: 14-15). These patterns clearly demonstrate how immigrant skills needed in London are not being used to the city's full advantage.

Another major research project conducted by Silveira-Wojtowicz (1999) in London developed a local inventory of immigrant professionals and skilled trade workers. It surveyed over 1, 678 FTP immigrants or tradespeople. "*The study showed that 70% had come to Canada within the previous 10 years. 46% had a university degree, including in such fields as health care, education and engineering while 27% held a college degree or trade certificate*" (*Ibid*: 8). Almost all respondents 99% were of prime working age (between 20 to 49 years).

The report also highlighted that "*60% of the men and 17% of women were unemployed. Of those employed, 76% were employed in fields other than their profession or trade.*

---

[98] http://www.crehs.on.ca/downloads/Voices_London.pdf, 09/10/04.

Most common work performed by immigrants outside their field was factory work (102 respondents), followed by retail clerk (43) and cleaner (31). Top reasons preventing migrants from finding relevant work included: a lack of Canadian experience 37%, lack of Canadian certificate 27%, lack of references and networks 13%, and difficulties with English 7%" (*Ibid*: 14).

According to Cullingworth (2003), [99] the major skilled migrant groups over the period of 1997 to 2001 in Ontario were in the following professions:

> ***"Engineers (60% of all skilled immigrants), Engineering Technicians/ Technologists (15%), Accountants (10%), Healthcare providers (9%), Teachers (2%)."***

Statistics Canada's (*The Daily*, 2003a)[100] spoke to 12,000 immigrants across Canada, 6 months after their arrival. The survey found:

- 6 in 10 migrants already working did not work in the same occupational field as they did before coming to Canada
- Most migrants reported difficulty in finding employment
- Amongst the 70% who eventually found work, 42% were still looking for another position
- About three-quarters (76%) of migrants had a foreign credential (more than a high school diploma)
- Lack of Canadian experience and difficulty in transferring qualifications were cited by 26% of those who had foreign credentials
- Given their dismal employment prospects, two-thirds of migrants who already had a university degree intended to pursue further university-level training

Moreover, Table 19 demonstrates that in London there is 13.4% of Canadian-born male university graduates aged 25 to 54 who are employed in moderate or low-skilled occupations in comparison to 23.7% of recent migrant males. For the females, the rate is

---

[99] Cullingworth, J. (2003) *cited in* 'Making Use of Immigrant Skills: A Brief Summary Of The Need For Immigrant Skills, Centre for Research and Education in Human Services, P.2, http://www.crehs.on.ca/downloads/Waterloo_market_scan.pdf, accessed date 18/09/05.

[100] *The Daily*, September 4, 2003 (www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030904/d030904a.htm, accessed date 12/09/05).

16.1% and 29.8% respectively. The figures demonstrate that university degrees do not result in better jobs for graduated immigrants and that they have almost double the chance of being employed in moderate or low-skilled occupations. Moreover, HRDC (2002: 51) asserts that the situation is also the same with regards to earnings and how it may take up to 10 years for the earnings of university-educated migrants to catch up to those of their Canadian counterparts.

Table 19: Percent of University Graduates Aged 25 to 54 Employed in Moderate or Low-skilled Occupations, by Immigration Status and Gender, Selected CMAs

	Male		
	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants*	Ratio
Toronto	10 4	24.8	2.38
Vancouver	12 0	25 0	2 09
Windsor	18 0	19 4	1.08
Calgary	9 5	19.0	2.01
Ottawa–Hull	7.1	13.4	1.88
Montréal	9 7	21 2	2.18
Kitchener	10 9	17 3	1.60
Hamilton	11 3	24 6	2.17
Edmonton	10 5	20 8	1.98
London	13 4	23 7	1 77
Winnipeg	13.3	34 7	2.61
Abbotsford	11 7	33 6	2.86
Victoria	13 7	19.9	1.46
	Female		
	Canadian-born	Recent immigrants*	Ratio
Toronto	13.4	36 3	2.71
Vancouver	13.6	38.5	2.82
Windsor	17 9	38.0	2.12
Calgary	15 1	38 9	2 57
Ottawa–Hull	10 5	24 0	2.27
Montréal	11 5	28 6	2.49
Kitchener	15.3	33 2	2 16
Hamilton	14.1	35 7	2.52
Edmonton	13.7	38 7	2.81
London	16 1	29 8	1.84
Winnipeg	16 5	39 5	2.40
Abbotsford	13 0	57 0	4 38
Victoria	18 1	31.4	1.73

* Recent immigrants are limited to those who arrived in the years 1991 to 1999 inclusive

Source Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001

Source: Schellenberg, G. (2004: 56), http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, accessed date 06/05/06.

7.5 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE SAMPLE

The remainder of this chapter will focus on the forty-two FTP migrants interviewed for the study. The previous chapter discussed the sample selection difficulties and how this affected the recruitment strategy and the sample obtained (Refer to 6.3 and 6.5 for details). This chapter will concentrate on descriptive and demographic profile of the sample. The more detailed analysis of what was said within the interviews will be discussed in the following chapters (8 and 9).

7.5.1 Immigration Class

Statistics Canada (2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001[101] shows 66.7% principal applicants and 37.5% spouse and dependents in the Economic Class, 26.9% Family, and 6.0% Refugees in Canada.

Within this study nearly half of FTP migrants interviewed (18/42) entered Canada under Independent Class of immigration, over a fifth (9/42) entered with a Work Permit and as Convention Refugees/Refugee Claimants (10/42), almost a tenth (4/42) as Students, and less than the tenth (1/42) under Business class of immigration. Out of these over a half (24/42) were not headhunted migrants (predominantly comprising of Independent class of migrants), almost a quarter (10/42) were refugees, over a tenth (5/42) were individuals who entered as students, and less than a tenth (3/42) were headhunted (these were predominantly University researchers) [Refer to Appendix 26].

[101] The target population for the survey included about 165,000 out of the approximately 250,000 persons admitted to Canada. It comprised of immigrants who arrived in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001, and were aged 15 years or older at the time of arrival.

7.5.2 Age and Gender

Statistics Canada (2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001 (sample of 164, 200 new migrants to Canada) shows that 49.7% were men and 50.3% were women [Appendix 16]. This indicates an almost equal national gender intake of migrants. However, because of sampling difficulties encountered, the sample for this study was not evenly distributed between men (35/42, almost three quarter) and women (7/42, a sixth). Therefore, gender analysis was not possible. It may be hypothesised that detailed gender analysis may have highlighted gender-specific factors missed within this study. However, I was able to explore factors influencing participants' interpretations of their experiences in relation to their age, gender, and ethnicity.

When considering age, *Statistics Canada* shows that majority of migrants entering Canada are 25 to 44 years old and comprise about 66.3% of the total population (*Ibid.*) [Refer to Appendix 16]. While *Statistic Canada*, Ministry of Finance (2002) analysis of the age distribution in London area (Section 7.3.2, Figure 12) shows that most of London's population is within 35 to 39 and 40 to 44 age bracket (8% each).

Within this study, predominantly male FTP migrants between the ages of 30 to 67 responded to the adverts. In fact, most of the participants interviewed were in the 46 to 50 years age group (9/42, over a fifth of the sample), whilst the second largest age group was the 41 to 45 years age group (8/42, over a sixth of the sample). Per se, the sample obtained is significantly older than the 2001 Census national migrant statistics and 2002 analysis of London's age distribution. However, this is not surprising considering the points system gives the highest points (10 points) to 21 to 49 years age bracket (Refer to section 7.3.2 Table 9 for details) this means that migrants entering Canada may be older than local populations in some regions across Canada.

Table 20: Participant's Ages

Age Groups	Frequency (N=42)	Percentage (N=100%)
30-35	6	14.3
36-40	7	16.7
41-45	8	19.0
46-50	9	21.4
51-55	6	14.3
56-60	3	7.1
61+	3	7.1

7.5.3 Year of Arrival in Canada

CIC's *Facts and Figures* (2005: 10) [Appendix 7] figure showing Canada's migrant permanent residents by immigration category 1980 to 2005 shows a steady increase in all immigration categories from 1985 onwards with slight fluctuations in numbers from 1993 to 2000. FTP migrants interviewed within this study arrived in Canada between 1969 and 2003 period. The majority, a third of participants (14/42) had arrived between 1996 and 2000 [Refer to Table 21]. However, there may be social, political, or demographic reasons why most of the migrants who came forward for this study were from this period. For instance, the analysis of the research process for this study highlighted '*immigrant stigma*' (Refer to section 6.5.3 for details) which might have contributed to the lack of representation of FTP migrants who had lived longer in Canada. In addition, I postulate that since the migrants from 1996 to 2000 period had only spent a few years in Canada they may have reached a stage in settlement wherein they were reflective and questioning their experience. Moreover, they may have also become aware of the wider resources available to them that would advance their integration. Since this study aimed to allow such opportunity, it may have been appealing to the participants.

Table 21: Year of Arrival in Canada

Year Arrived in Canada	Frequency (N=42)	Total Percentage (N=100%)
1965-1970	2	4.7
1971-1975	3	7.1
1976-1970	1	2.4
1971-1975	1	2.4
1976-1990	5	11.9
1991-1995	4	9.5
1996-2000	14	33.3
2001+*	12	27.6

*Note: The last sets of interviews were conducted in the summer of 2003 and participants who had arrived in Canada up to late 2002 were included as part of the data collected.

7.5.4 Country of Origin

Statistics Canada (2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001 (Appendix 16) shows the region of birth for newcomers to Canada. Based on a sample of 164, 200 migrants, 67.7% Asia and Middle East as a region of birth, 15.4% had Europe, 9.1% Africa, 6.1% had Central /South America, and Caribbean, 1% had United States, and 0.6% Oceania and other regions as their region of birth. Whilst, analysing Canada's immigrant permanent residents by top source countries from 1996 to 2005 (CIC, *Facts & Figures*, 2005: 32) [Refer to Section 7.3.1, Table 5] indicates that for 1996 they were: Hong Kong with 13.3% of migrants, India with 9.4%, and China with 7.8% while in 2002, 14.5% were from China, 12.6% from India, and 6.2% from Pakistan.

According to *Statistics Canada* (2003b) generally, 43% of 1990s immigrants living in London in 2001 had born in Asia, including the Middle East, 33% in Europe, 11% in the Caribbean, and Central and South America, and 9% in Africa.[102]

[102]*Statistics Canada* (2003) based on Census 2001, (http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/etoimm/subprovs.cfm#london, accessed date, 15/11/06)

As has already been discussed in Chapter six, this study had numerous difficulties in identifying the country of origin of the sample interviewed. Consequently, because of sampling limitations encountered it was not possible to obtain a sample representative of either the local or the national country of origin composition of recent migrants. Given that I was reliant on recent migrants responding to my posters, emails, and general snowball sampling technique, there was a level of unpredictability involved in sampling. Therefore, I accepted migrants who met my sampling framework.

Table 22 is drawn from participants' responses to the question '*Where is your country of origin?*' As the table demonstrates most of the participants (12/42) over a quarter came to Canada from South America, just under a quarter (10/42) came from Southern Asia, and (5/42) over a tenth from Eastern Europe.

Table 22: Respondents' Country of Origin[103]

Country of Origin	Frequency (N=42)	Total Percentage (N=100%)
North America	1	2.4
Central & South America	12	27.6
Pacific	1	2.4
Eastern Europe	5	12
Western Europe	3	7.2
Middle East	2	4.7
Southern Asia	10	23.7
South-East Asia	4	9.6
North Africa	1	2.4
Africa	1	2.4
Caribbean	2	4.7

[103] The regional breakdown of countries adopted for the research was as follows: **North America** (USA), **Central & South America** (Colombia, Honduras, Mexico), **Australasia** (New Zealand), **Eastern Europe** (Albania, Lithuania, Romania, Russia), **Europe** (Germany, Greece), **Middle East** (Iran, Iraq), **Southern Asia** (India, Pakistan), **South-East Asia** (China, Philippines, Taiwan), **North Africa** (Egypt), **Africa** (Nigeria), **Caribbean** (Jamaica).

7.5.5 Educational Background

Statistics Canada (2003b: 45-46) analysis of LSIC 2001 [Appendix 17] shows that out of the sample of 163, 400 within the economic class 84.3% of principal applicants and 51.1% of spouse and dependents had university degrees, in comparison to 27.2% of family class, and 11.5% of refugees. While 0.7% of principle applicants, 12.9% of spouse and dependants in economic class, 29.8% of family class, 37.8% of refugees, had no formal education or less than high school.

Whilst focusing more specifically on migrants' level of education in Ontario, Anderssen and Alphonso (2003: A6) claim that they are typically more educated than the average Ontario residents are [For details of London's educational level refer to section (7.3.3)].

The sample of respondents for this study had a relatively high level of formal education prior migration to Canada [Refer to Appendix 26 for details]. Within the sample, almost a third (13/42) had Bachelor's degree, over a fourth (12/42) had earned Doctoral degrees (Ph.D.), over a fifth (9/42) had various Masters level (MSc.) degrees, over a tenth (5/42) had Bachelor's degree plus (*i.e.* teaching qualification, Medical degree, etc.), and under a tenth (3/42) had obtained their postdoctoral. The majority, over a half (23/42) did not obtain further education in Canada. When faced with qualification recognition, licensing, and employment barriers, less than a tenth (3/42) obtained certificate level qualification in Canada, over a fifth (9/42) obtained postgraduate degrees (either or both MSc. and Ph.D.), and under a tenth (2/42) were in the process of obtaining licence for their respective profession.

When considering post-migration qualification recognition level of the FTP migrants' education in Canada, from the table below it is evident that the higher level of postsecondary education the migrants had in the sample, they had a higher likelihood of it being recognised at the same level in Canada. Moreover, if the degrees were obtained from USA, Canada, or Western Europe played a part in whether it was recognised at the

same level in Canada. Table 23 is based on migrants' self-declaration of the results of their qualification assessment in Canada.

Table 23: Pre-migration Highest Level of Education and Qualification Recognition Level Obtained in Canada Crosstabulation

Pre-migration Level of Education	Total	Qualification Recognition Level In Canada			
		Secondary	Bachelors	Same	Had not Applied
University Certificate	0				
Bachelors Degree	N=13 (30.9%)	8		5	
University Certificate BA+	N=5 (11.9%)	2	1	1	1
Masters Degree	N=9 (21.4%)		5	3	1
Earned Doctorate (Ph.D.)	N=12 (28.6%)		1	10	1
Postdoctoral	N=3 (7.1%)			3	

7.5.6 Professional Background

Statistics Canada, LSIC (2001: 32) 2001 Census analysis of the occupations of immigrants before and after arrival in Canada shows majority of migrants (both male and female) were not working within their own profession after migration to Canada [Table 24].

Table 24: Major Occupation Groups of Immigrants Before and After Arriving in Canada, 2001 Census

Occupation groups	Men		Women	
	Before arriving	After arriving	Before arriving	After arriving
	Number			
Immigrants with occupations before and after arriving in Canada	39,700	43,800	22,300	28,300
	%			
Management occupations	12.7	4.4	8.0	2.6
Occupations in business, finance and administration	8.1	9.8	25.3	17.9
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	38.6	18.8	16 8	6.8
Health occupations	3.5	1.8	10.0	4.2
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	7.3	4.8	17.6	6.2
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	1.8	1.0[E]	3.8	1.8[E]
Sales and service occupations	10.2	24 9	12 1	37.3
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	9.9	10.4	0.7[E]	2.7
Occupations unique to primary industry	3.6	1.8	1.3[E]	2.6
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	4.1	22.3	4 4	17.9

Source: *Statistics Canada*, LSIC (2001: 32), http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/tables/table4.htm, accessed date 12/10/05).

Focusing more specifically on Ontario, Cullingworth (2003) [Refer to section 7.4.4] highlighted its major skilled migrant groups over the period of 1997 to 2001. Due to sampling difficulties, most of the participants (13/42) nearly a third of the sample were University Lecturers. I postulate that this category of respondents' familiarity and comfort with academic research may have played a part in their greater representation within this study. Moreover, University Lecturers, and researchers/academics are generally recognised for their international mobility and transferability of skills and experience. Within this study, the UWO lecturers experience provided comparative measuring rod for the other FTP migrants to be put in context. The second largest category of professions was Engineers with (8/42) participants comprising of just over a sixth of the sample and in the third place, there was a tie between Researcher/Research Scientists and Teachers both with (6/42) participants comprising just under sixth of the sample.

Table 25: Pre-migration and Self-Acclaimed Profession Categorisation of the Sample

No. Cat.	Pre-migration Profession	N0. (N=42)	%	Self acclaimed Profession[104]	No. (N=42)	%
1	University Lecturer	10	23.8%	University Lecturer	13	30.9%
2	Engineer (Civil, Mechanical, Electrical & Mining)	8	19.0%	Engineer (Civil, Mechanical, Electrical & Mining)	8	19.0%
3	Researcher/Research Scientist	5	11.9%	Researcher/Research Scientist	6	14.3%
4	Teacher (Elementary & Secondary School)	6	14.3%	Teacher (Elementary & Secondary School)	6	14.3%
5	Medical Practitioner (MD, Physician, & Dentist)	4	9.5%	Medical Practitioner (MD, Physician, & Dentist)	4	9.5%
6	Psychologist/Counsellor/ Therapist	1	2.4%	Psychologist/Counsellor/ Therapist	1	2.4%
7	Accountant	1	2.4%	Accountant	1	2.4%
8	Business related fields (HR, Advertising, & Sales)	3	7.1%	Business related fields (HR, Advertising, & Sales)	3	7.1%
9	Student	4	9.5%			

Majority of the sample were well established in their profession. Table 26 shows that most (11/42, almost a quarter) of the FTP migrants interviewed had 6 to 10 years of work experience within their respective professions prior to migration to Canada.

Table 26: Pre-migration Years of Work Experience

Pre-migration Years of Work Experience	Frequency (N=42)	Percentage (N=100%)
0	3	7.1%
1-5	5	11.9%
6-10	11	26.2%
11-15	9	21.4%
16-20	2	4.7%
21-25	6	14.3%
26+	6	14.3%

Although almost half of FTP migrants interviewed were employed in equivalent jobs post-migration to Canada, this is because most of the participants were University Lecturers/academics. Academics are generally renowned for having internationally transferable skills because the academic profession encourages and operates through

[104] It is based on what profession the participants claimed they had at the time of the interview (Summer 2001 to 2003 namely).

professional knowledge exchange. What is alarming from the data obtained is the fact that most of the migrants employed had postsecondary education and or work experience from USA or Western European countries. In addition, over a quarter of FTP migrants were unemployed or employed in a different job than what they held pre-migration to Canada.

Table 27: Foreign-Trained Professionals Employment Status when Interviewed (2001-2003)

Employment Status	Frequency (N=42)	Percentage (N= 11%)
Not Employed	10	23.7%
Employed in Equivalent Job	19	45.2%
Employed in Different Job/Underemployed	11	26.2%
Self-employed	2	4.7%

7.6 FTP MIGRANTS' TRANSITION FROM SOURCE COUNTRY TO CANADA

Most migrants within the study migrated either for economic reasons or to reunite with family already in Canada. The majority reported that they only intended to migrate to Canada. In fact, over three quarters of the sample expressed intent to settle permanently and become a Canadian citizen.

Within this study, most of the recent immigrants were from non-European countries and USA whilst older immigrants were from USA, Western, and Eastern Europe. The majority of migrants who were employed at the time of the interview had postsecondary degrees from North America or Western European countries. These migrants had either personally secured employment pre-migration to Canada or had been headhunted from abroad and often had renewable employment authorisations. The unemployed participants mostly had degrees from non-Western countries. This implicitly indicates

that in Canada education and work experience from North America or Western Europe is recognised as compatible with the Canadian qualifications. In spite of this, the participants unanimously agreed that the fundamentals of the postsecondary qualifications from developing countries were compatible with western standards with an exception of availability of the latest technology [Refer to section 8.2.4 for more details].

When considering level of satisfaction with migration to Canada, almost three quarters of the participants stated that they were satisfied. In fact, under a tenth of participants reported they were not satisfied with their new life in Canada, and over a sixth reported being neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their new lives.

I asked respondents about their decision to come to Canada, and the main reasons for their migration. The FTP migrants interviewed talked about wanting a better life for themselves and their families. Their decisions were often prompted by political and or economic factors. They had heard of great opportunities in Canada and consequently their expectation was high. Most recent newcomers within the sample were highly skilled professionals who mostly supposed they would be able to find work in their respective fields easily in Canada. These issues will be further discussed in the next chapter.

7.7 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to present the sample and its demographic profile. The chapter explored characteristics of London, Ontario namely its geographical and demographic profile (*i.e.* racial make-up, gender, and age composition, and levels of education), economy (*i.e.* labour force, industry, skills shortages, and skills level of recent migrants to the city). This was followed by the presentation of participants' demographic profile, providing their age and gender composition, year of arrival in Canada, country of origin, and educational and professional background.

The chapter concluded with general analysis of participants' transition from source country to Canada. Even though the sample within this study was not representative of the migrant population in London, Ontario in relation to age, gender, country of origin and profession the analysis of the empirical data reflects previous research with FTP migrants in Canada (Refer to Chapter 2 and 3 for an overview).

The next two chapters (Chapter 8 and 9) will focus on the interviews and the analysis of the empirical data gathered. The chapters will demonstrate the way in which the conclusions from the interviews with both the FTP migrants and the selected service providers may be generalised in Canada and the lessons learned applied more widely to any immigrant receiving country.

CHAPTER 8

ANALYSIS 1: INTERPRETATION OF INTERVIEWS WITH FTP MIGRANTS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of the findings from the interviews is divided into two chapters, the following chapter attempts to present and interpret immigration and integration experience of the selected sample of FTP migrants from London, Ontario. It presents the key themes drawn from the discussions with the FTP migrants and attempts to contextualise their experiences. Through participants' accounts, I draw attention to the main barriers recent FTP migrants are experiencing in Canada. The chapter particularly, explores the variation within the experiences of the different migrant groups within the study, namely the headhunted and non-headhunted FTP Independent class immigrants, FTP refugees, FTP migrants who entered with a work visa, and those who entered Canada as a student[105]. The next chapter focuses on discussions with the service providers and their standpoint on FTP migrants' immigration and integration experience.

This chapter examines FTP migrants' pre-migration views concerning reasons for migration to Canada and more specifically London, Ontario, views on Canada, and personalimmigration expectations. The analysis of post-migration period draws attention to FTP migrants' immigration process and focuses primarily on their integration experience. It draws particular attention to the integration barriers and the broader consequences FTP migrants encounter. It emphasises their sentiments regarding their experience, underlines settlement adjustments and supports available, and draws

[105] This sample category includes participants who entered Canada between 1960 and 2002 as students.

attention to options deliberated and integration strategies adopted within the process. The chapter concludes by emphasising the broader systemic and institutional racism in Canada, the practical problems with the application of multiculturalism, and summarises FTP migrants' views on the Canadian immigration policy.

The broad themes discussed in this and next chapter have been drawn from the interview discussions with the participants [For coding guideline refers to Appendix 31]. The analysis presented in these chapters draws attention to the way in which immigration and integration experience of migrants is socially constructed. I drew on direct verbatim quotations from the interviews in order to present the marginalized voices of the participants. Given that the quotations represent the way in which participants have attached meanings to their experiences, the analysis presented in the next two chapters generally comprises a range of carefully selected quotations representing a variety of perspectives on particular theme.

As already argued within the methodology chapter, although it is problematic to quantify explorative studies that are small-scale, qualitative, and derived from semi-structured interviews, where there was unanimous agreement amongst the participants, their points have been numerically highlighted. I chose to do this in order to draw attention to the issues the participants collectively thought influenced their experience. Whilst reviewing participants' responses in the next two chapters, it is important to note that they typically pointed out multiple factors under selected themes, therefore their responses do not generally add up to 100%.

The main aim of this chapter is to understand the ways in which the inequalities experienced in Canada are reflected in post-migration personal experiences of FTP migrants interviewed. It seeks to highlight where inequality and disadvantage are experienced, what coping strategies the selected migrants have employed to overcome the integration barriers encountered.

8.2 PRE-MIGRATION VIEWS

The review of literature [Section 2.4.1] highlighted how migration as a process consists of four stages with pre-migration being the first stage. As a result, FTP migrants' pre-migration variables are vital when examining their integration process (Drachman & Halberstadt, 1992). Since research into the personal experience of FTP migrants has been noticeably overlooked, through exploration of participants' pre-migration circumstances and their hopes and expectations regarding life in Canada, the empirical research for the study generally contributes towards contemporary understanding of FTP migrants' migration and integration process.

This section explores FTP migrants' pre-migration history, general reasoning for migration, and for moving to Canada and more specifically London, Ontario.

8.2.1 Participants' Reasons for Migration

Within the review of the literature [Section 2.2], De Jong and Fawcett (1981) refer to "*Value-expectancy Model*". This model argues that migrants weigh selected values based on their expectation of post-migration outcomes. Such evaluation then influences their decision to emigrate. Through this line of questioning, I was interested to know the respondents' reasons for emigrating to Canada rather than other Western countries.

It is commonly acknowledged that FTP migrants generally have good living standards regardless of where they are from. Hence, it may be hypothesised that they do not migrate to Western countries because of needing to seek better economic benefits or returns. Consequently, they are not motivated by hopes of gaining higher standard of

living. The points below represent the issues the 42 FTP participants articulated as pertinent in influencing their decision to emigrate.

- Better future for children— (13/42)
- Political problems, security concerns, and war (these immigrants applied as refugee claimant and convention refugee due to vital emergency relief)— (12/42)
- Professional development (limited opportunity for development in own country) /job offer (came to Canada in order to work with a specific researcher/scientist or company)—(10/42)
- Job satisfaction due to lack of resources, technology, lack of research opportunities, and low-pay/long hours in their own home country— (4/42)
- Further education (postgraduate education including mostly Ph.D. and for Postdoctorate Fellowship)— (3/42)
- Interested to move to a developed country (better economy and general life opportunities)— (1/42)
- Adventure, new experience— 1/42)
- Human rights/freedom of speech— (1/42)

A Jamaican husband and wife who were accountant and a teacher respectively and had entered Canada under Independent class of immigration in 2000 generally commented on why they think FTP migrants migrate:

> ***"Because professionals have a good standard of living and have a good professions and jobs I think that they move because of better opportunities."***

Her husband further expands:

> ***"* [...] *It maybe just the experience of living and working in a different environment that is more of interest, rather than, you know, coming for the better things that other countries can offer."***
>
> [33 & 34- 0.1]

Most migrants stated that they considered emigration to give better future to their children.

"A better future for us, especially for our children."
[7-0.1- Male, Pakistani, Demographer/Researcher, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2000]

Other migrants highlighted security, drugs war, and political problems in their own country as the main reason they emigrated:

> ***"We were living in a very hard conditions. We were living at the centre of a drugs war and the Colombian army and the situation was becoming very difficult.*** [...] ***We have to leave the country in order to get a better situation.*** [...] ***better future for us."***
> [5-0.1- Male, Colombian, Teacher, Refugee Claimant, entered Canada in 1999]

Another recent Colombian refugee claimant further expanded:

> ***"Over other options? I was told that Canada was the best place to come to because of my particular situation*** [as independent applicant for convention refugee status]. ***So I planned to come here."***
> [27- 0.1- Male, Colombian, General Physician, Refugee Claimant, entered Canada in 2003]

> ***"Um... I think going out of Romania... I think first...er... the denial of the right of speech. Um... I couldn't publish what I wanted to publish and I couldn't do my doctorate because I wasn't a member of the communist party and my father was abroad which was a crime at the time."***
> [14-0.1- Male, Romanian, Lecturer, entered Canada with a Student visa in 1987]

Some migrants emigrated for further education and professional development.

> ***"Obviously there were reasons to leave Russia. The reasons were that I didn't feel that I was really appreciated. I felt I didn't have enough room to grow professionally, and it was very, very unrewarding. It felt as though someone else was controlling my life. And also economic reasons matter a lot. Russia is much poorer country compared to Western countries. [...] I had to choose where I would like to immigrate and had to choose countries that would be willing to take me. The choices were fairly narrow because I had to immigrate to a country where English was spoken, because this is the only language I speak, except for Russian, which basically means US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand."***
> [4- 0.1- Male, Russian, University Lecturer, Work Visa, entered Canada in 1995]

Pre-migration Expectations of Canada

I was interested in understanding whether the participants had any expectation regarding emigration to Canada. I postulated that their self-acclaimed pre-migration expectations if not met would influence how they viewed their immigration to Canada, the extent of their post-migration integration, and their general well-being in Canada.

I asked participants "*What were your expectations of Canada prior to migration?*" The majority of participants had an idealised image of Canada and expected that Canada would be welcoming because of being multicultural and would generally offer better life opportunities (*i.e.* education, job, living standards, better health and social services, *etc.*). Their responses comprised:

> ***"With respect to Canada, I had expected it to be a fairly welcoming environment."***
>
> [8- 0.4- Male, Mexican, Lecturer, entered Canada with a Work visa in 1997]

> ***"I thought that maybe it would be easier for immigrants as Canadians are more open so would facilitate the process for adaptation so we could be part of the society easily. I definitely thought that nobody would discriminate. So yes, I thought that life definitely would be better."***
>
> [31- 04- Female, Colombian, Teacher, Refugee Claimant, entered Canada in 2001]

> ***"The only thing that I felt in Canada*** [when had visited Canada] ***was that there were a lot of people from other countries and I felt that they were happy in Canada. But when I visit friends in the US, I didn't feel the same situation. So I decide Canada is good country."***
>
> [35- 0.4- Male, Colombian, Petrol Engineer, Convention refugee, entered Canada in 2000]

A Russian, male lecturer, who entered with a work permit in 1995, further expanded:

> ***"I had expectations when it came to everyday life. I expected certain standards of education, a certain level of...I shouldn't say ethics, but certain standards of human behaviour. That is something that, yes, I had expectations of. As far as the professional environment, every place is different, and it is stupid to have expectations because these are not***

> ***expectations, these are demands. I want my place to be something, but I don't expect it to be that. So, the best thing to do is to not put any ideas in your mind, and live by the rules of the place when you arrive. Then if you don't like something, I think that it can work better if you sort of gradually just try to do things differently. And this is where my family comes in. Certainly, my family had expectations for education and for usual life. Some of it, actually all of it was totally different from what we expected."***
>
> [4- 0.4]

However, over a fifth of the participants (9/42) had migrated to Canada from USA and other Western European countries; therefore, they did not have as it were an 'idealised image' of Canada. Those who were well informed knew that 'the grass was not greener in Canada', so they anticipated the acknowledged level of tribulation, which is often part of emigration and integration process. A Russian male Lecturer, who entered Canada in 1995 with a work permit, clearly puts this point across:

> ***"We didn't arrive in Canada directly from Russia, we spent quite a bit of time in England. And I had travelled a lot before that, so it wasn't much of a cultural shock as it would have been otherwise. So, I didn't have any particular expectations. But in a sense, I knew that it would be different.... So, it was just a matter of getting ready for adaptations.... I didn't have any expectations because I didn't want any expectations. I just wanted to arrive and adapt to whatever I found."*** [4- 0.4]

Employment Expectations

Section 2.4.2 of this thesis highlighted how professionals commonly have a strong sense of occupational identity (Salaf *et. al.*, 2001). It was highlighted how the emigration process with its inherent demands, changes, and threats to migrants' self-confidence heightens their desire to maintain pre-migration occupation within the host society. Bernstein (2000: 189) considered this phenomenon as an outcome of FTP migrants' inherent need to safeguard an aspect of their identity through integration tribulations encountered within the host society.

The review of the literature highlighted how for most newcomers finding employment is the most important factor in establishing a new life in Canada. As expected, when discussing integration most of the participants prioritised employment prospects in Canada.

> ***"We were told at the interview that, you know, my husband's qualifications would be needed here and that we would fit in very readily. I was told that Canada didn't really need teachers, so my impression was that I would have difficulty in finding a job. So I was expecting that once we got here [husband] would have been able to find a job [...] but that is not as it happened."***

[33- 0.4- Female, Jamaican, Teacher, entered Canada as Independent immigrant, in 2000]

> ***"It was not a risk because if I knew that there was a risk I would not have come but I thought they are giving me immigration, independent immigration. I wrote down my job desire as analytical chemist at that time*** [...] ***when they gave me the immigration, my understanding was that it would not be difficult to get a job in my field in Canada."***

[20- 3.7- Male, Indian, Research Scientist, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1975]

He further expands:

> ***"My expectation was that I would be offered a similar or better opportunities and work environment in Canada than in India."*** [20- 0.2]

Another participant highlighted:

> ***"I was more than two years in Australia, so I knew the culture, what to expect from the Western countries, but I was not thinking that I would have to work as a security guard. This was very surprising for me. My other colleagues also had Ph.D. and they were working here as labourers, and this is not good.*** [...] ***I have eighteen years of research experience, I have published papers... I have a good educational background, but they say you don't have Canadian experience. How can I get the Canadian experience? You give me a job and then I will have the Canadian experience."***

[7- 3.4- Male, Pakistani, Demographer/Researcher, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2000]

8.2.2 Why Migrate to Canada?

For the purpose of this research, it was important to identify why the participants had chosen to migrate to Canada. Respondents generally had a very idealistic perception of Canada because of the widespread positive image Canada has thus far managed to maintain internationally. Most participants referred to these idealistic perceptions when they were asked about their pre-migration expectation of Canada.

When asked '*Why did you decide to immigrate to Canada?*' participants referred to:

- Good living standards, quality of life— (13/42)
- Canada being excellent for raising children— (8/42)
- It being a hospitable nation where people are friendly, accommodate diversity, and believe in multicultural values— (6/42)
- Having family or friends in Canada— (6/42)
- Emigration process being more straightforward and easier— (6/42)
- Faster and easier application processing for both independent immigrants and convention refugee and or refugee claimants— (4/42)
- Less social problems (*i.e.* racism, violence, and crime)— (4/42)
- How they were offered a suitable employment— (3/42)
- Canada's national citizenship policy— (2/42)
- Country's location— (1/42)

Majority of migrants asserted that they chose to immigrate to Canada because of its good living standards and general quality of life.

> ***"Quality of life in general is pretty good in Canada. That is the biggest advantage that Canada has, and it certainly draws people. I was in the US, and my degree is valid in ... I could work in the US tomorrow, I could move to the US, but I decided to come to Canada and stay in Canada."***
>
> [25-3.8- Male, Indian, Lecturer, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1990]

He further expands:

> ***"We had a growing family and there was less crime in Canada. […] It was a more peaceful society, we thought. […] On the other hand, opportunities are less, so you pay for it. But we were willing, at the time, to make that compromise."***

Others came in the hope of giving better future to their children.

> ***" I come here because of social problems and my children. My children are my future….. so, I came for the future of my children. […] I came here for the better life, so there you have it."***

[7-3.8-Male, Pakistani, Demographer/Researcher, Independent immigrant, entered Canada in 2000]

Most participants claimed they came to Canada because they believed it was a hospitable nation where people were friendly. They generally assumed that Canada accommodated diversity.

> ***"Well, I chose Canada because I knew that it is a country which has open doors for any immigrant or any person with any problem. Before I left, I researched the policies and the programmes they have as a refugee and found they are used to welcome people and be friendly with the immigrants. I came to Canada for the quality of life, the openness of the Canadian people. There is less discrimination than the USA. That's pretty much the reasons why we came to Canada. I also knew that it was a very developed country with so many possibilities and prospects, and a very good quality of life. So that is why I wanted to reach here, the quality of life and the chance to get a new opportunity to work."***

[27- 3.7- Male, Columbian, Psychologist, entered Canada as Refugee Claimant in 2001]

> ***"We chose Canada because we think that it has a very diverse culture. We thought that everyone and the culture is more universal… so that is why we focused our attention in Canada."***

[31- 3.7- Female, Columbian, Teacher, entered Canada as Refugee Claimant in 2001]

In addition, few successful FTP academics interviewed highlighted the advantages of having fast- track immigration application processing when the applicants have arranged employment in Canada. A Mexican lecturer who entered Canada with a work permit authorisation in 1997 said:

> ***"There were no hassles in the process. I sent my application, I got my work visa soon after*** [...] ***before coming to Canada. When I went through my landed immigration process, I just sent the stuff and they [referring to immigration officers] sent back my papers. So, I don't know if from their end, if it made a difference that I was trained in the American school or was offered a job in a good institution in Canada, I am not sure."*** [7- 1.0]

> ***"Canada has clear procedure for immigration, fixed known steps and the financial requirements are clear... so you can plan well ahead."***
> [32- 1.2- Male, Egyptian, Engineer, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2001]

> ***"Well, it started out being just the need to experience life somewhere else. Then Canada because I guess it was easier than say the United States. My first choice would have been the United States but Canada was much easier.*** [...] ***The requirements were less and a lot easier to fulfil than the United States.*** [...] ***It took 10 months for the immigration process."***
> [33- 3.8- Female, Jamaican, Teacher, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2000]

The Convention Refugees and Refugee Claimants generally highlighted that it was faster to enter Canada under humanitarian grounds rather than through Independent immigrant status due to differences in application processing times.

> ***"It is faster and easier to claim refugee status through Human Rights and Red Cross Agencies."***
> [5-0.1- Male, Colombian, Teacher, entered Canada as Convention Refugee in 1999]

> ***"Well, it started out being just the need to experience life somewhere else. Then Canada because I guess it was easier than say the United States. My first choice would have been the United States but Canada was much easier. [...] The requirements were less and a lot easier to fulfil than the United States. [...] It took 10 months for the immigration process."***
> [33- 3.8- Female, Jamaican, Teacher, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2000]

Moreover, a migrant who entered Canada with a Work Visa from the USA highlighted Canada and UWO's appealing qualities, which influenced his decision to emigrate.

> ***"Not being from the US, I didn't place a premium for staying in the US. I was open to the idea of going elsewhere. [...] Certainly, Canada seemed as an appealing country, or seemed to me as an appealing country. So I decided why not, and I knew that this was a great university."***
>
> [8- 3.8- Male, Mexican, University Lecturer, Work visa, entered in 1998]

Since United States was the alternative option for many participants intending to immigrate to Canada, some participants highlighted the prevailing difficulties with the American immigration procedure.

> ***"I tried immigration to US but that was based on a lottery system. So, it was based on luck.... I played for 5 yrs or so without winning, which is different from Canada. In Canada, you're competing against yourself. If you have enough points and you medically qualify, then you get it, and you are ready to pay [referring to immigration application fees]. Whereas in the US you don't pay, it's free, but you have to be lucky."***
>
> [2-3.7-Male, Nigerian, Lecturer, entered Canada with a Work visa in 2000]

> ***"For States there is a lottery and you might get selected-but it's vague."***
>
> [32-1.2- Male, Egyptian, Mechanical Engineer, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2001]

A Male, Pakistani, Demographer/Researcher highlighted the benefit of obtaining Canadian citizenship.

> "[...] ***After three years you can become a citizen and then you can freely go anywhere. You can go to USA, UK, and all of Europe."*** [7-3.8]

A few mentioned that their decision to come to Canada was based on receiving acceptance for further postgraduate education.

> ***"I got selected in a graduate programme here*** [in Canada]. ***I wanted to do graduate studies."***
>
> [25- 0.1- Male, Indian, Lecturer, entered with a Student visa in 1984]

The participants came to the decision to immigrate to Canada predominantly based on the information obtained from friends and family in Canada rather than from Canadian immigration officials. A recent, 2001 Colombian, male refugee claimant, highlights:

> ***"The only real information we had was from the news, for example Canada is the second most expensive country, in comparison with Switzerland. It is more expensive in taxes but the quality of life is very high. It is the best country in the world to live today and it is stable. It is not a country that likes to be in wars. It is not a country that likes to have conflicts, it is a very passive country and that was important for us, for the family. Because we are getting away from a very violent country*** [referring to Columbia]." [30- 0.7]

Another participant, a male, Egyptian, Mechanical Engineer, who entered under Independent Class of immigration in 2001, asserted that:

> ***"Whatever you read about a country is not enough! There isn't enough information about jobs in Canada."*** [32- 0.7]

Through seeking legal support in Canada, a couple made more informed decisions about emigration to Canada:

> ***"We used a lawyer, an English lawyer in Canada, so they provided us with some information in terms of market and things like that."***
> [34- 0.7- Male, Jamaican, Accountant, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2000]

However, generally participants felt that due to prevalence of wrong information about reality of migrants' situation in Canada there was no way to prepare for what they would experience in Canada. A Colombian, female teacher who entered as refugee claimant in 2001, declared that:

> ***"Can't prepare for the reality of life in Canada"*** [31- 1.3]

8.2.3 Why Migrate to London, Ontario?

The participants had adopted London, Ontario as the city they would settle predominantly because of:

- Its location and demographic profile (*i.e.* nationally central location, close to Toronto and US border, low population, quite/hassle free, *etc.*)— (22/42)
- Familiarity with the city due to family and friends' recommendations— (14/42)
- Receiving a job offer locally— (5/42)
- Career development— (3/42)
- Postgraduate (Ph.D.) studies— (2/42)

Their comments comprised:

> ***"London is nice city and is not so expensive like Toronto..... We thought we could get more opportunities here than Toronto."***
>
> [5- 3.9- Male, Colombian, Teacher, entered Canada as Refugee Claimant in 2000]

> ***"I had expectations about London being small but friendly city, pleasant and hassle-free life."***
>
> [7- 0.3- Male, Mexican, Lecturer, entered Canada with Work visa in 1997]

> ***"I came to London, Ontario from Winnipeg you see... I was in Winnipeg after Ottawa and then I came to London. I came to London because of research you see.... Because the resources are much better."***
>
> [11- 3.9- Male, Lithuanian, Lecturer, entered Canada with a Work visa in 1993]

> ***"One reason being my eldest daughter is here. There is a family connection."***
>
> [23- 3.9- Male, Indian, retired University Lecturer who entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1998]

> ***"The friends that we made in the US, they were from London. According to their experience we were told that London was a nice city, and was a good place to start because Toronto was too big and we assumed it would be easy to adapt to the culture in London."***
>
> [31- 3.9- Female, Colombian, Teacher, entered Canada as Convention Refugee in 2001]

Migration research generally highlights that migrants are motivated to emigrate in response to desires for gain as well as aversion to risk often stemming from a desire to build better lives. As a result, evidence has indicated that when considering emigration, migrants aspire for upward economic and social mobility and greater political freedom (George & Tsang, 1998; Lee & Lee, 1994; Taylor *et al.*, 1994; Zhao *et al.* (2000) [Refer

to section 2.2 for details of these studies]. The analysis of participants' accounts within this section is clearly in line with previous studies. For instance, in accordance with Chiswick (2000) those who were headhunted and entered Canada with Work Permits or Visas and those who entered as postgraduates were particularly well placed in Canada. These migrants had generally made the decision to emigrate based on social and human capital opportunities within the host society. However, FTP refugees predominantly emigrated because of political problems, security concerns, and war in their home countries. Nevertheless, this category of migrants had similarly high expectations of social, cultural, and professional integration in Canada as migrants in other immigration categories did.

8.3 POST-MIGRATION VIEWS

I was interested in empirically exploring post-migration experiences of recent FTP migrants in order to understand the type of integration adjustments and barriers they were encountering in Canada. This exploration was founded on the premise that the identification of what FTP migrants highlight as pertinent barriers to integration will enable better understanding of the socio-cultural as well as institutional factors affecting their experience and may help in determining ways to tackle it.

8.3.1 Participants' Integration Experience

Thus far, I have highlighted the way in which available evidence have largely been concerned with migrants' economic success in Canada. Therefore, it may be argued that this focus to a certain extent has obscured cultural, social, and organisational

dimensions within migrants' integration experience which the empirical data for this study highlights.

This section will discuss the main integration barriers participants identified such as:

- Verification of qualification (20/42)
- Place where qualifications was obtained (18/42)
- Canadian work experience (15/42)
- Language (14/42)

General Integration Barriers in Canada

Whilst considering socio-cultural dimensions of integration, participants generally highlighted that their age, length of residency, and ethnicity played a part in the extent to which they integrated in Canada. Their comments comprised:

> ***"It doesn't work so easily. Maybe that is because of my age, but to get assimilated or to be accepted—psychologically accepted is difficult. But that is the case even for young immigrants, which is understandable. You don't become Canadian over one generation."***

[23- 3.0- Male, Indian, retired University Lecturer who entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1998]

> ***"In terms of not being integrated, if I stay here 100 years, I will never be accepted as one of the 'white' people. Unless these people accept me as one of their own, I will never be the same. So that is one of the biggest psychological problems."***

[20- 1.7- Male, Indian, Research Scientist, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1975]

> ***"Most of the people of Canada don't like immigrants. I have found very nice people...but most of the people don't like us. So, the social impact of that is terrible for us. If I try to make friends from Canada, it is very difficult. They have another language and I don't mean English. What I mean is a social language. That you can't learn in a few years, you need more than five years."***

[30- 3.1- Male, Colombian, Physician, entered Canada as Refugee Claimant in 2001]

Moreover, some highlighted that the absence of migrants in principal posts or high positions in professional occupations and migrants' general lack of political representation influenced their integration in Canada. For instance, a Jamaican, Accountant, who entered as Independent Class immigrant in 2000 emphasised that:

> ***"If you can see one or two persons in reasonable positions, then you say well there is a possibility. If you don't see anybody you think there is no possibility."*** [34- 1.3]

Place of Education as Mechanisms of Labour Distinction

In Canada, education not only reproduces national class structures it also encourages division of labour based on national origin and place of education. Many upper-segment occupations are stringently regulated by professional licensing organisations, which are supported by federal and provincial legislation. Moreover, the regulated professions often encourage reproduction of their own members through differential treatment of foreign-educated and trained professionals. The rigorous certification system they employ favours individuals with Canadian education, training, and experience. Consequently, participants generally agreed that the Canadian education and certification structure systemically rendered Canadian birthplace as an economic privilege.

Participants within this study attributed difficulties with foreign qualification recognition to employers and institutions' fear of making hiring errors. They assumed that within the regulated professions this phenomenon encouraged the existing risk averseness in certification practices. As Bloom and Grant (2001: 14-16) establish, in Canada there is a clear relationship between proximity or familiarity and confidence in hiring.

> ***"There is a difference in saying we have shortage of doctors or nurses, but if you are saying you are coming in with transferable skills when you're not even going to allow them to practice in the first instance until you train them, so, is that transferable? If you are coming from certain***

> ***countries like Australia, Britain, South Africa and another country that they recognize, then you can come in and start practicing."***
>
> [2- 2.1- Male, Nigerian, University Lecturer, entered Canada as a postgraduate student in 2000]

The non-recognition of foreign credentials creates a division between Canadian-born and immigrant labour; consequently, it presents obstacles for those intending to work within their area of expertise. This phenomenon often forces FTP migrants to work in less secure positions below their level of qualification often in jobs with limited career advancement or promotion, and lower earnings than their Canadian counterparts with similar educational levels. However, migrants who had educated in USA or Western Europe often did not encounter such difficulties.

> ***"I think that if I had tried to go through this process from Mexico, it would have been a very different story. You don't have visibility, you don't have awareness, and you don't have a map about what job opportunities there are available and so on. So, I am sure that it would have been a very different experience. I wouldn't be here probably, I don't know. But certainly being in the US before makes a big difference."***
>
> [7- 2.6- Male, Mexican, Lecturer, Work Permit, in Canada, 1997]

He further expands:

> ***"Now that I am at the other end*** [referring to being in the position to hire] ***I can tell you that when we are hiring people to join us we are looking for people who are in the top US schools. So coming from a top US school made a difference. If I hadn't, I probably would not have made the cut or have been invited over."***

<u>Verification of Qualification</u>

The participants highly valued their profession and placed a great importance in working within their profession in Canada. For instance, a Colombian Physician who entered Canada as Convention refugee in 2001 stressed that:

> ***"For me one of my spiritual necessities is my intellectual job, my intellectual world. If I have a job in the university and if I have license to work with then I am Okay."*** [30-2.5]

They supposed that the main problem with the recognition of foreign qualification was the facts that regulatory bodies were not set up to formally assess credentials prior to arrival in Canada (CICIC, 2002). They asserted that this made it impossible for them to assess devaluation of their qualifications prior emigration to Canada and effectively make informed decision regarding emigration.

Evidence indicates that although the regulated professions set universal criterion for professional registration that applies to both Canadian-born and foreign-born alike, they have a disproportionate effect in restricting FTP migrants access to professions (Boleria, 1992; McDade, 1977). Therefore, it is postulated that in Canada the professional self-regulating organisations have a propensity for supporting reproduction of the existing professional class of Canadians (Peck, 1996: 46-79). Most participants supposed that the regulated professions collectively used credential assessments to institutionally exclude migrants. They assumed that the stern measures are put particularly in place to reserve employment in professional occupations for those who are Canadian-born and educated. For instance, a Russian university lecturer who had entered Canada with a Work Visa in 1995 rationalised the exclusion of foreign workers as a strategy used by regulated professions and employers to limit competition for good jobs within the labour market [4- 3.4]. Such a perspective of institutionalised cultural capital makes an important contribution to disentangling the multidimensional forces that segment the Canadian labour market.

Other complaints the participants had about verification of their qualification and recertification process was that it was prohibitively lengthy, costly, and cumbersome. They complained that they wasted a great deal of time doing theoretical training, whilst they required practical, on the job training particularly internship opportunities. However, a few participants declared that because they were established in their respective professions and held managerial, supervisory, and or predominantly executive responsibilities pre-migration to Canada; they were to a certain extent

removed from the recent developments in practice particularly recent software and other profession-specific modern technologies and approaches in use. These FTP migrants talked about their apprehension and resentment in having to go through extensive practical upgrading in order to obtain lower positions in their respective fields in Canada.

The review of literature highlighted how generally employers and regulated professions in Canada argue that FTP migrants' educational level is not compatible with the Canadian, American, or Western European education. However, the participants within this study opposed these claims and emphasised that the differences in qualification existed only in technological resources available to the professionals in developing countries. They claimed that such discrepancy could be resolved through development of short-term "*on the job*" practical training.

> ***"They are compatible. The only difference is the resources available to you, and that is the nature of the problem. Students having access to the latest books and technology are the only things that make the education not comparable. Differences are not in terms of content but mainly in terms of resources."***
>
> [2- 4.2- Male, Nigerian, Lecturer, entered Canada as a Student in 2000]

Another participant highlighted that:

> ***"Learning to use advanced equipment is not a problem what so ever. It takes a month or two to learn. When you deal with equipment, which is not up to date, you usually need to know how it works and if it's not working properly you pretty much have to fix it yourself. So, this gives the professional very good exposure to the fundamentals, the basics that is very important as well. So as far as technology goes…. in my experience, it takes very little time to switch from one to another. That's very easy"***
>
> [4- 2.1- Male, Russian, Lecturer, entered Canada with a Work Permit in 1995]

The participants generally highlighted the need for more coherent approach towards migrants' access to professions and suggested that the government should consider sponsoring fast track schemes to assist them within this process. They particularly emphasised the need to set in place a clear infrastructure, which would link the fast track retraining or upgrading with opportunities to obtain Canadian work experience in

the most common professional fields. They recommended that in order to have the scheme in operation without any cost to the government, regulatory organisations or employers should consider entering into a contract with FTP migrants that would bind them to work with a lower income or as a volunteer for a specific period to cover the ensuing costs. Surprisingly, the scheme supported by the participants is very similar to training opportunities currently offered through the national military schemes.

On a procedural level, participants asserted that FTP migrants were often unable to obtain references required for professional registration and employment purposes in Canada from their regulated profession and employers in developing countries. They assumed this problem further exacerbated their difficulties in getting recertified in Canada.

> ***"I think that there are two issues here. If someone comes from a country like Britain or Germany, in Canada the employer will know exactly what to expect with their standard of education.... The information is readily available on the web, or if you need a reference, you can actually hold the person who was professor at the university and talk to them. So you will know what to expect. Second, I think there isn't a track record for immigrants from countries like Russia. You don't know much about standards of education there, because there is no way to access this information. It is very difficult to call, and second, they would not be able to give you a reference because English is not well spoken there. This amounts to very cautious attitude towards immigrants. This is why employers are not willing to commit to long-term job offers and to senior appointments right away."***
>
> [4- 2.6- Male, Russian University Lecturer, entered Canada with a Work Visa in 1995]

A number of participants because of being close to retirement age remarked on the futility of commencing recertification process. When faced with employment adversities, the older migrants generally chose to work in a related field that did not required specialised expertise or were forced into early retirement. For instance, a participant who entered Canada in 1971 with a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering from Philippines discussed how because of the difficulties he encountered in gaining access to his profession he opted to work as a draftsman. When questioned whether he was interested in getting recertified, he stressed how he felt that it was too late to pursue his profession because he was too close to the retirement age.

> ***"I think that even if I wanted to try and move around and pursue my profession, I don't know, I think that it is too late now because I am already almost in the retirement age.... I would like to add that because what I end up doing was in engineering field, I have been comfortable."***
>
> [24- 1.8]

Nevertheless, generally participants acknowledged the difficulties involved in assessing foreign qualifications.

> ***"One of the purpose of the professional Engineering status is to protect the society from lets say people who may not be qualified and get into practice. So, I think that's not a bad thing..... I think, it's difficult when you have different people from different places. You have to give some credit to those organisations that will somehow sort them out or somehow want to get more explanation or more justification for giving lets say status to somebody."***
>
> [1- 2.1- Male, Iranian, Lecturer, who entered Canada as a Student in 1992]

> ***"Every particular case is different. Accreditation is a big issue, especially when it comes to social sciences or medical sciences. There is some rationale behind it because we don't want to license people who deal with people's lives..... I don't think it would ever be possible to put together a system that would be satisfactory for everybody. It is between giving more opportunities and being extra careful, and you'll be blamed for either. I don't have a good answer for that."***
>
> [4- 2.1- Male, Russian, Research Scientist, entered Canada with a Work visa in 1995]

Moreover, the review of the literature drew attention to the ways in which the Canadian labour market and economy at the time of entry influences the extent to which FTP migrants experience employment barriers [Refer to section 2.4.4]. Although, such analysis was beyond the remit of this research, more in depth analysis of the labour market is necessary to gain a better understanding of the employment experience of new immigrants in Canada.

The participants within this study generally drew attention to the way in which the Canadian economy was unable to effectively manage the volume of FTP migrants currently entering Canada.

> ***"The economy is not designed to give all [professional] immigrants a job because of this they give lame excuses that your education is not good or that you don't have Canadian experience.... I learnt this on my second day here."***

[7- 4.2- Male, Pakistani, Demographer/Researcher who entered Canada as a student in 2000]

They emphasised how presently the Canadian labour market predominantly needs workers in service and manufacturing industries.

> ***"Canadian employment is mostly blue-collars. Canada still has to develop research and development so that the scientists, engineers, and doctors can get proper jobs. In Canada most of the jobs are based in service industry... so why do they attract professionals?"***

[20- 2.1- Male, Indian, Research Scientist, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1975]

Evidence indicates that migrants generally have higher education than their Canadians counterparts in similar positions (Anderssen & Alphonso, 2003; Schellenberg, 2004). However, this study shows that since they are not offered positions that reflect their education and are often overqualified for the jobs available many felt compelled to underplay their qualifications in order to obtain employment in Canada.

> ***"When I went for interviews, and the interview person said to me 'We have a low position that I think you are overqualified for' I told them I need a job, I am willing to do the job. But they said you are overqualified. We need a person who doesn't have this kind of experience, because we can't pay as you want. Then the person with a lower profile got the position over me."***

[5- 2.5- Male, Colombian, Teacher, who entered Canada as Refugee Claimant in 2000]

> ***"At the beginning I had a problem because I made a mistake when I did my résumé. I put my educational background, but... later I basically put only High School. As soon as I put High School, I got hired! Now when I go for a job, I don't say I have a degree in Social Science, Sociology. I just say High School, and get work."***

[19- 2.5 - Male, Honduras, Teacher, entered Canada as Convention Refugee, in 1976]

Language as a Barrier

Owing to Canada's points-based system for selection of migrants, participants who entered Canada under the Independent Class had good language skills. This was also the case with migrants who entered Canada with a Work Permit, work visas, and those who entered as students. A Jamaican, male, accountant who entered Canada under Independent class of immigration in 2000 highlighted that:

> ***"In Canada language is often used as an excuse. There are English-speaking immigrants like myself and they experience hard time get a job. It has nothing to do with language. It has to do with acceptance of foreign qualifications. It is as simple as that. If language was the issue, then once the people learn English, they should have no employment problems."***
>
> [34- 4.2]

Majority of participants highlighted the need for suitable, profession-specific language training to assist with their certification process. However, the FTP refugees interviewed generally had difficulties with their language skills and particularly with spoken English. In fact, most refugees interviewed were taking government sponsored ESL language training.

Canadian Work Experience

Of the FTP migrants interviewed, over a third (17/42) had employment in their own field upon arrival in Canada. These migrants often had a better integration success in Canada. However, most of these migrants were affiliated with the higher education institution as academics or researchers and were headhunted or transferred to their posts. Of those who were employed at the time of the interview, under a third (13/42) were not working in the same occupational field as prior to immigration, under a fifth (8/42) were unemployed, and under a tenth (1/42) were retired. Out of those, not

working in the same field and unemployed, almost a quarter of the sample (10/42) had entered Canada as Convention Refugee or Refugee claimant.

As mentioned in section 2.4.4 and 3.2.2, newly arrived FTP migrants are often excluded from upper segments of the labour market because of lacking Canadian work experience. Therefore, they often accept lower positions within their fields in order to gain the highly valued Canadian work experience. However, once they gain access to work experience in lower positions within their field or related field they are often trapped in those positions. This later could give rise to difficulties in gaining access to professional jobs. For instance a Jamaican, accountant who entered Canada as an Independent immigrant in 2000 highlighted how FTP migrants become trapped in what is known as "*Taxi Driver Phenomenon*" referred to within literature review.

> ***"Even if you are very qualified. So immigrants have more meagre jobs and if that is how you start, that is where you stay."*** [34- 1.3]

He further expanded:

> ***"To get out of it, to get out of the cycle, is a big problem. And that sort of explains why you have so many well educated people who end up driving taxis or whatever."***

Nevertheless, the participants acknowledged that they had limited access to jobs in professional fields and identified the difficulties with obtaining white-collar (office and administrative) work:

> ***"So the other problem is that I don't have training in the clerical aspects here in Canada, so I can't work in an office because I don't know how to use a computer, or I don't know how to file the papers. The people here have studied [in college] for that. So it is almost impossible to find a job in that kind of work without proper certification and training... So to find a job here is not easy because your qualifications are not accepted. It is like you don't have any education. So where can you work, cleaning the floors, in construction, carpentry, that's all!"***
>
> [30- 2.5- Male, Colombian, Physician, Refugee Claimant- in Canada, 2001]

They also acknowledged that the Canadian work experience they obtained should be in their respective profession for it to be of benefit.

> ***"So when people talk about having Canadian experience, you have to have this in the right area. To get it in the right area somebody has to give you a chance. I think that is where the problem is. In my view, if there were more immigrants working towards integrating [in their own profession] and the society in general, then the possibilities of getting a chance would be much greater. If there is not that integration, then it is very hard to break the barrier and get in to own career if you are an educated person."***
>
> [34- 2.5- Male, Jamaican, Accountant, Independent Immigrant- in Canada, 2000]

Another participant, a Colombian physician who entered Canada as Refugee Claimant in 2001 pointed out how in more protected professions such as medicine medical practitioners are not even given the opportunity to work in lower or related positions within their field.

> **"....** [T] ***hey say we can't hire doctors without licenses, even though your job is not going to be as a doctor. It is not good for us to have a doctor without license because they might feel entitled to do something that is illegal here. So, for example, if I want to work with people that is very ill, I am going to feel the necessity to do something for that person, but that is illegal if I do not have a license."*** [30- 2.5]

The participants also mentioned resorting to volunteering in order to gain Canadian work experience. However, due to various ethical restrictions in practice not all professions offered volunteering opportunities.

> ***"I don't think there are a lot of*** [professional volunteering] ***opportunities readily available, particularly in London. I think this is an area where professionals often need help."***
>
> [33- 1.3- Female, Jamaican, Teacher, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2000]

Those FTP migrants who had been in Canada longer were aware of cultural differences that influenced their labour market entry in Canada. An immigrant lecturer who entered Canada initially as a student in 1992 noted how these cultural differences were another level of barrier that recent migrants encountered. He highlighted how most other cultures tend to be humble about their achievements because it is culturally undesirable to make a lot of propaganda; however, he expressed awareness of the fact that such characteristics are not rewarded within the Canadian culture. He was also aware that

Canada operated with consumerist principles whereby if one wanted something, they would have to sell themselves to the best of their ability in order to get it [1- 3.1].

8.3.2 Consequences of Integration Barriers Encountered

As the literature review highlighted, employment adversity in Canada cause FTP migrants to experience integration difficulties and alienation from the society post-migration to Canada. As a result, I was interested in exploring what participants considered they had gained and lost (*i.e.* socially, culturally, economically, *etc.*) through emigration to Canada. The participants predominantly highlighted that they had gained peace and tranquillity in Canada.

> ***"I gained peace, [but] lost many things as a person, as a professional. Here I am just immigrant.... I understand this. I am happy. I accept it. We cannot have everything in life."***
> [35-1.7- Male, Colombian, Petrol Engineer who entered Canada as Refugee claimant in 2000]

Nevertheless, a Colombian physician who entered Canada as Refugee Claimant in 2001 gave a clear account of the losses FTP migrants often experience after emigration to Canada.

> ***"The cost is very high... in emotional, social, and professional terms... When older, you have less flexibility to adapt in other paths, different from yours. The emotional cost is that you feel isolated and depressed...The professional cost is... you are not recognised here as what you are. Here I am not a doctor in medicine, here I am not an educated person. Here I am not valued. I can apply for some programmes after I get my Landed Immigrant pass, before that I am nobody."*** [30- 1.7]

The participants considered their profession as salient part of their identity; therefore, they highlighted how losing the career they had invested in had a detrimental outcome in terms of their social and economic integration in Canada. The participants

particularly drew attention to the numerous effects lack of professional integration had on their lives in Canada.

- Encouraged emotional as well as health problems (16/42)
- Made them feel socially isolated and dissatisfied with life in Canada (10/42)
- Diminished their general sense of identity and social status (7/42)
- Had an impact on personal relationship with the partner and family (6/42)
- Encouraged lower socio-economic and changed their pre-migration living standards (5/42)
- Influenced their overall sense of belonging in Canada (4/42)

The most commonly reported feelings the participants expressed was disappointment and frustration which they said eventually lead to anger and irritability and even depression. Some highlighted how they felt insecure, experienced self-doubt, and general lack of motivation. However, the participants were more candid about the impact of their experience on their health and family. Therefore, my questions about health did not always elicit stories about health but rather prompted stories about jobs and family. In fact, questions about work and family sometimes lead to discussions about loneliness, stress, and other health problems. The following accounts reveal how underemployment or unemployment had an impact on participants' health and other aspects of life.

> ***"Well let's ... put it this way. Not that someone who spends many years of intensive university education with the purpose of qualifying is a special person compared to the taxi driver. But the taxi driver wanted to be a taxi driver. Why would he waste ten years of his life for further education? Ten years of university in order to get special knowledge and training, or industrial experience, which are of no use. They are being cheated as a human being... How can this person be mentally comfortable being a taxi driver?"***

[23- 3.1- Male, Indian, retired University Lecturer who entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 199

> ***"Can't say I am a Mechanical Engineer! What should I call myself... I call myself 'consultant', not engineering consultant just consultant."***

[32- 3.1- Male, Egyptian, Mechanical Engineer, entered as Independent immigrant in 2001]

He further expanded:

> ***" It is very important to not lose self-confidence and know that what is wrong is with the system."*** [32- 2.5]

> ***"Our standard of living is much lower. Had own house, car, and ranch. It is harder*** [to deal with] ***daily, home chores, domestic responsibilities*** [without paid support]."
>
> [3- 3.0- Male, Colombian, Engineer, who entered as a Refugee Claimant in 2002]

> ***"I was very irritated in the beginning, I become angry with my children. But when I was alone I think why was I like this to them? It was not their fault it was my fault because I am not working, I was not working a proper job, this was the cause of my irritability... I was living with three young children in a one bedroom apartment."***
>
> [7- 3.1- Male, Pakistani, Demographer/Researcher, entered Canada as a student in 2000]

> ***"How do I put it? When you're bored, you tend to fight a lot because of the frustration. This affects the relationship. It affects it when what didn't use to cause a quarrel is now causing quarrel because of the frustration. It brings a lot of tension at home because of the frustration of not having somewhere to go in the morning... Apart from needing the money, it [a job] gives somewhere to go. So that has been tough on us."***
>
> [2- 3.5- Male, Nigerian, Lecturer, Student, in Canada, 2000]

> ***"It had the effect of my splitting with my wife, because she had one view, in expecting to get so much from here because she didn't see the reality at that time, because she expected too much in this country then. I had 'more feet on the ground' because I knew that over here it wasn't easy to work. Then she suffered so much because she wanted to work too and she couldn't accept how things were."***
>
> [19- 3.1- Male, Honduras, Teacher, entered Canada as Convention Refugee in 1976]

The participants also drew attention to the economic consequences of non-recognition of foreign qualification for Canada. They highlighted how the lack of focus on long-term immigration gains was resulting in wastage of migrant skills and experience.

> ***"There might be initial gain for Canada, but Canada is not focused on long term gains. Foreign-trained professional immigrants sometimes leave after several years. Their skills and experience is wasted and not utilised."***
>
> [32- 3.1- Male, Egyptian, Mechanical Engineer, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2001]

From discussions in this section, it is evident that recognition of foreign qualification is more than economic issue for both the FTP migrants and Canada. According to *The Conference Board of Canada* (2000), Canada could gain a broad range of benefits from recognising and rewarding the full range of learning that recent migrants possess. For instance, on an individual level such recognition would increase FTP migrants' access to employment opportunities in their respective fields, enable them to earn higher income, which would enhance their quality of life in Canada and reduce repetition of education and training. At the organisational level, it may encourage an increase in profitability, assist in maximisation of productivity and innovation, reduce retraining, and more effectively meet current labour demands in Canada.

8.3.3 Settlement Support

I was interested in identifying formal and informal resources and support networks (*i.e.* financial, educational, psychological, cultural, and social) the participants had accessed to assist them within the settlement process. I was particularly interested in how they generally felt about the existing services available to them, and the types of provisions they required in order to better integrate into the boarder Canadian society. This section will commence with a discussion of the sources of support sought and will highlight the main settlement support needs the participants identified namely information about regulated professions and recertification process, profession-specific language training, more co-ordinated and centralised settlement support, and effective employment resources.

<u>Sources of Settlement Support</u>

Over a half of the participants (22/42) relied on friends, relatives, and employers to assist them with their initial settlement needs in Canada whereas under a half (18/42)

had used settlement agencies, and a third (14/42) had used government sponsored language training. The participants' main complaint about settlement resources was regarding the lack of appropriate support services to meet their needs. For instance, a female, Mexican Counsellor who entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1986 highlighted how there are too many agencies in London doing similar work.

> ***"Well, I think there are a lot of them*** [referring to settlement services in London]. ***We need more specific services."*** [36- 1.4]

The participants particularly drew attention to numerous resources needed such as:

- Profession-specific language training (20/42)
- General information (*i.e.* society, local and national services, grants and other subsidies, regulated professions and recertification, and employment) (18/42)
- Effective employment resources (18/42)
- Co-ordinated and Centralised Settlement Support (9/42)
- Community-based support (4/42)

Those who entered Canada under the Independent class of immigration predominantly relied on their savings and personal assets for survival while they desperately tried to secure employment in their respective professions after arrival in Canada. The participants stressed that survival would have been impossible without their initial financial capital.

> ***"Well let's put it this way, I think to some extent the only reason we survived was because we had enough money to keep us for a very long time."***
> [33- 1.7- Female, Jamaican, Teacher, entered Canada under Independent Class in 2000]

The self-reliance of Independent Class immigrants is systematically upheld through the underlying notion of 'independence' that the current Canadian immigration policy associates with this category of immigrants. Currently, those entering under the Independent class of immigration are generally FTP migrants who independently apply

for immigration and are given access based on the number of points gained through the points system. Due to recent financial constraints and cutbacks, the Federal government of Canada has substantially reduced settlement services to this category of migrants, which has give rise to existing inadequate provisions [Refer to section 6.3 for details]. At present, settlement resources are predominantly geared towards convention and refugee claimants. The Canadian government and society generally supposes that this category of migrants are less educated and informed of life in Western countries, hence are in need of more basic support upon arrival in Canada. An Indian, retired University Lecturer who entered Canada as an Independent class immigrant in 1998 highlights this point:

> ***"Well, they [settlement support] are more geared to people who are refugees and who have language problems, are less qualified, and don't have basic skills... so I felt they were not the proper people to give me support."*** [23- 1.4]

However, as the empirical data for this study has shown, recently there have been numerous highly educated refugees entering Canada. Although, this category of migrants generally have similar demographics to independent immigrants [Refer to section 8.2.2] they choose to enter Canada as refugee claimants rather than Independent class. The demographic changes within the immigration class of migrants entering Canada necessitates the need to readdress the existing stereotypes and reassess the current settlement service provision in Canada in order to reflect the current migration flow and changing settlement needs.

Most FTP refugee claimants in this study accessed social assistance (social benefits or welfare) in Canada. However, this may be related to the fact that refugees systemically receive more support and therefore are made aware of their eligibility or entitlement to claim so they are more inclined to use benefits. Generally, migrants (both refugees and FTP migrants) receiving benefits were experiencing major difficulties in finding employment. Therefore, although they welcomed welfare subsidies and/or unemployment insurance for alleviating some of the financial distress they were experiencing they generally perceived it as being associated with acceptance of a certain level of humiliation. Their stories expressed how they felt personal failure

and loss of control to meet basic needs post-migration to Canada. They also emphasised how it was insufficient in meeting their needs. The participants generally felt that there was a common lack of understanding of FTP migrants' hardship in Canada. For instance, a participant expressed his sentiments:

> ***"I didn't come here to work as Taxi driver or to beg."***
> [32- 3.1- Male, Egyptian, Mechanical Engineer, entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 2001]

Numerous participants suggested that instead of providing them with welfare subsidies the government could systematically assist them with access to employment in their respective fields. As previously mentioned, they recommended that the government could attempt to work with the regulated professions and other institutions to set-up apprenticeship scheme [Refer to section 8.3.1]. These migrants felt that such scheme could uphold their dignity but also endow them with the compulsory Canadian work experience, hence assist them with access to regulated professions.

<u>Profession-specific Language Training</u>

Participants felt that the Federal government provided inadequate language training. They had three objections about the current ESL training. Firstly, participants claimed that the current training schemes took too much time during the initial settlement period when migrants were primarily concerned with obtaining employment and economic stability. Secondly, they criticised the composition of classes, accentuating how the education and level of language ability of the migrants were often not assessed accurately. They also drew attention to FTP migrants' particular "*profession/job-specific*" language needs in order to assist them with certification process and ultimately access to their respective profession. Thirdly, they were critical of the quality and content of the language training offered, highlighting how the sessions were often utilised for basic language, cultural, and social information (*i.e.* weather, appropriate

clothing, customs and culture, food, entertainment, *etc.*) that should be taught optionally and separately if required.

Co-ordinated and Centralised Settlement Support

Most participants criticised the settlement support currently available. Particularly they highlighted how there are too many pockets of services in London, which they supposed made access difficult. Participants named *London Cross-cultural Centre* (CCLC)[106], WIL *Counselling and Training*[107] (hereafter referred to as WIL), LUSO *Community Services*[108], and *Unemployment Help Centre*[109] as useful settlement agencies in London, Ontario. However, only a minority of participants identified utilising ethno-specific community agencies[110] for settlement support. They highlighted how in most instances the information provided in brochures by settlement agency workers were too general and outdated. Therefore, they highlighted the need for centralised resource centres that would provide answers to the most frequently asked questions.

In terms of personal support, the majority of the participants highlighted the need for community-based support and mentoring groups geared specifically for FTP migrants.

---

[106] CCLC is a settlement service agency, which has been operating in London, Ontario for over 35 years. It provides settlement assistance to new comers and minority groups in the London area.

[107] It is an abbreviation for 'Women Immigrants of London', which was established as a community settlement organisation initially for women immigrants in 1974. Since, it has developed into an employment settlement organization, developing skilled workers through provision of employment preparation programs for both men and women, as well as offering career-related assessments, employment counselling, academic upgrading, and job placement services.

[108] LUSO is an abbreviation for 'London Urban Services Organization', which is a multicultural community centre providing programs and services to people of all ages and of culturally diverse and ethnic backgrounds promoting inclusiveness. LUSO is a provider of community social services with a holistic approach to community development. It provides programs and services in the London community for children, youth, families, and seniors of culturally diverse and ethnic backgrounds.

[109] It is London's employment resource centre. It is a government sponsored agency, which provides career information on employment; vocational and career counselling; support programs including information on training, retraining programs and financial assistance for educational opportunities, advice and paralegal representation regarding government benefits such as Ontario Works, *Ontario Disability Support Program* (ODSP), Employment Insurance and Canada Pension Plan, and Disability Benefits.

[110] Ethnic-specific community agencies refer to agencies that work with specific ethnic group(s).

It was suggested how the settlement agencies could assist with setting-up mentoring groups for each regulated professions. The participants believed that the mentoring groups would give recent FTP migrants a forum to share information on regulated professions and employment, provide study groups for recertification, and provide networking with older migrants who are willing to share their experiences and offer advice. In fact, since 2003, a few community-based initiatives have been set-up in London, Ontario. For instance the Colombian community has been very innovative in creating several professional coalition such as Columbian professional engineers association, the physicians support group, and teacher's Coalition initiated by Canadian-Colombians who had numerous years of experience in Canada. As part of the support provided, each professional group organised various workshops assisting recent FTP migrants with their certification and qualifying process.

Effective Employment Resources

Participants generally highlighted the need for effective employment resources. They emphasised that although FTP migrants may have high levels of education and training in a particular occupation, which would constitute a human capital resource they may not have the cultural knowledge related to hiring practices and the social connections or the social capital necessary to get information about job openings in the host country. Therefore, being able to mobilise a particular skill or ability may be contingent upon activation of other components of migrants' resource repertoire. This phenomenon has implications for the type of immigration selection criterion used.

While searching for employment participants referred to various local employment agencies, settlement organizations that offered employment services, and Federal Job Bank[111] and the Job creation programs offered through *Human Resources Canada*

[111] Job Bank is the largest Web-based network of job postings available to Canadians. Job Bank allows job seekers to actively search for employers who have employment opportunities that match their skills set. After performing a match, the job seeker receives a list of employers with a matching job vacancy.

(HRC). However, these agencies often could not assist with jobs in regulated professions. They highlighted how restricting skills training only for *Employment Insurance* (EI) recipients by HRC often meant that they were excluded from accessing retaining opportunities for some governmental and provincial schemes.

8.3.4 Options Deliberated and Coping Strategies Adopted

Without contacts in their professional fields, FTP migrants are often forced to negotiate their careers in Canada. Consequently, they have to either build on their credentials in order to compensate for their meagre social capital, drop in rank within their respective profession, or totally change their professional fields. When participants were asked about what approaches they had taken with regards to obtaining employment in Canada, they commonly said:

- Enhanced their language and communication skills (18/42)
- Started entry level positions (10/42)
- Started licensing process (6/42)
- Obtained educational qualifications from Canadian institutions (6/42)
- Relocation (3/42)
- Entered self employment (2/42)
- Volunteer job if it was possible within their respective profession (2/42)

However, they highlighted how lack of entitlement to financial support upon arrival (*i.e.* loans to pay for professional registration and or licensing, further education, or support to start a business) made settlement process very difficult. Hence, they emphasised that having certain level of capital to invest in such endeavours was necessary.

It was interesting to note that participants who had obtained postgraduate qualifications in Canada were permitted to transfer their student visa to permanent residence status.

Some even claimed that obtaining further university qualifications from Canadian academic institutions influenced how readily their foreign qualifications were verified. The empirical outcome of this study is in accordance with Salaff *et al.* (2002: 11) who found that migrants who held postgraduate degrees (particularly Ph.D.) in their respective field had their qualifications recognised and therefore were able to obtain "*good jobs*". However, in both studies Ph.D. qualifications did not always guarantee this.

Evidence indicates that FTP migrants generally come to Canada with the intention of remaining; however, the integration barriers they experience often lead them to seek relocation options. Although, many immigrants are initially very reluctant to consider relocation, the employment difficulties they encounter forces them to seek opportunities in other provinces, in the US, or other countries and even renders them to contemplate going back to their country of origin.

8.4 INSTITUTIONAL RACISM IN CANADA

Chapters two and three highlighted how the extent to which Canada prioritises social and cultural integration of migrants plays a major role in their acquisition of equal citizenship rights and opportunities as their Canadian counterparts. In view of this, this section aims to link the way in which the inequalities within the broader Canadian society have an impact on post-migration experience of FTP migrants.

According to Salaff *et al.* (2002: 19), many of the barriers FTP migrants encounter are 'symbolic' in a sense that institutionalisation of credentials is closely linked to the existing Canadian labour market structures, the type of labour in demand and categorisation in use, and general career paths available. A participant highlights how non-acceptance of diversity fosters integration barriers:

> ***"If the profession is not accepting of difference, and there are individuals coming from different places, then just the fact that you are coming from a different place will make you an outsider."***

[11- 1.3- Male, Lithuanian, Lecturer, who entered Canada with a Work Permit in 1993]

Migrants who were either headhunted or had employment through individual application from outside Canada expressed concerns about the employment barriers their dependent spouse was experiencing with regards to obtaining work authorisation in Canada. In order to address this problem, in December 2001 the government introduced a new program whereby certain categories of workers received employment authorisation for their spouse to work anywhere in Canada. Although, this is a positive scheme, it does not still take into account the difficulties involved in obtaining employment while in Canada.

> ***"Because she*** [the wife] ***had accompanied me, she was not authorised to work. She wasn't authorised to go to school, she was just authorised to be with me. But now I think Canada has this new program to encourage professionals to come, because they have found that if your wife is not working it is a distraction. They found that a few professionals had turned down coming because of the fear that their wife might not be able to work. So to encourage them to come they have decided to give employment authorisation to the wife too..... So that's what we applied for in Dec. last year and she got it in Jan. So she has been looking for work with that, but even up to now*** [7 months later] ***she hasn't been able to get anything."***

[2- 2.7- Male, Nigerian, Lecturer, who entered Canada with a Work Permit in 2000]

When discussing integration, the participants often referred to the prevalence of racism in Canada. An Indian, research scientist who entered Canada as an Independent class immigrant in 1975 expressed his thoughts on what it means to be Canadian and the racial dynamics in Canada.

> ***"Well, first I don't understand, what is Canadian? If you say Canadian means British and French, then I don't think that there is any integration in Canada. But if being 'Canadian' means multi-ethnic, multicultural, why when people talk about Canadians they always think Caucasian, white skinned people? So, it is very vague... I mean I am Canadian, you are a Canadian... So I think it is a hypocrisy when once a black person gets a***

> ***gold medal he or she becomes Canadian, before that the black person is considered as just another black."*** [20- 1.3]

A male, Filipino migrant who entered Canada as Independent immigrant in 1971, talked about his experience of racism in Canada:

> ***"I never found that I wasn't accepted into any groups because of my nationality or because of my racial origin or my ethnicity. I wasn't readily invited until they got to know me, but once people got to know me, they tended to forget that I looked different from them. To give you an example I was with bunch of friends, and they were all white. We were talking and our conversation turn to talk about people of Asian background, and things came out. Now, I am there, and they say "Well you don't count, you are one of us."***

He further expands:

> ***" I think, or my experience is that the white Anglo-Saxon segment of the population, those that are British, Irish descent are the ones who have resisted, you know, the acceptance. They would tolerate, yes, on the outside but the feeling inside is still that. There is prejudice here but it's not as blatant."*** [21- 1.3]

Another participant elaborates:

> ***"In Canada they say they don't discriminate, I think they do, but they don't express those things outright. I am almost positive that they have some kind of discrimination because I am foreigner, because of my accent, because I am old... and it is a mixture of all these types of discrimination. But they say that we don't discriminate. All the adverts say we don't discriminate but I think they do."***

[26-2.6-Male, Indian, headhunted Research Scientist who entered Canada with a Work Permit in 2003]

Participants' comments concerning the impact of the experience of subtle racism complemented previous research done by George and Mwarigha (1999: 11). George and Mwarigha found that African newcomers in Toronto who encountered on-the-job racism experienced stress, loss of confidence, frustration, and under-performed. For instance, a Colombian teacher who entered Canada as Convention Refugee in 2001 conveys how the racism she was experiencing was making her feel undermined.

> ***"Sometimes I feel I am underestimated. I think that I am more sensitive when I feel that somebody is underestimating me. I feel very bad."***
>
> [31- 3.5]

Some participants were lucky to obtain informal recognition of their credentials from employers. A participant articulated that if there is a lack of specialists, or there are positions that are not appealing to Canadians, often employees are sought from outside Canada and even developing countries like India. However, he emphasises that if these individuals decided to independently immigrate to Canada, their qualifications potentially may not get recognised.

> ***"In the West there is a lack of radiologists and the Western radiologists don't want to read radiology, so the x-ray plates are being scanned and electronically sent to radiologists in India. They report it overnight as it is coming. But, if this radiologist comes to Canada they cannot practice. Is that fair? So there is some level of unfairness, and that depends on demand and policies used."***
>
> [25- 2.6- Male, Indian, Lecturer, Student-in Canada 1974]

8.5 PRACTIAL PROBLEMS WITH THE APPLICATION OF MULTICULTURALISM

Whilst discussing the highly celebrated multiculturalism and the principals of equality embedded within the Canadian culture, within this study numerous participants reflected on their personal immigration experience to highlight the existing rhetoric. A Jamaican couple, who entered Canada in 2000, convey that:

> ***"I think that in itself it*** [multiculturalism as practiced in Canada] ***creates a sort of division because it in a way allows people to keep their identity as it was before. Because you keep your identity you don't get integrated... so to some extent this can be part of the problem."*** [33/34- 2.6]

Such comments highlight the broader societal *context* and the *setting* as added complexities, which influence the integration experience of immigrants in Canada

(Layder, 1993). It illuminates the historical embeddedness of inequitable power relations between the existing racialised Canadians, immigrants, and the mainstream native-born white European-Canadians. Such complex inequitable power relations have influenced the social, structural and institutional operations in Canada therefore have reinforced the existing discriminatory practices, attitudes, and values held by the dominant mainstream.

The participants generally alleged that integration was a two way process which necessitated Canadian public's acceptance of migrants as well as required individual migrants' compliance to become part of the host society. They drew attention to the existing phenomenon whereby migrants who had lived in Canada for decades are still addressed as immigrants in other words 'non-natives'. Therefore, they criticised Canadian government's approach to immigration and multiculturalism as *"pen and paper game"* that is ineffective because of its underlying aims and public's negative attitude towards migrants.

8.6 FTP MIGRANTS' VIEWS ON THE CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

Participants generally felt misled regarding the extent their specific profession was in demand within the Canadian labour market. They had supposed that they would be able to find employment within their profession once in Canada. They often blamed Canada's immigration policy, particularly the points system for giving them the impression that they were accepted based on their personal attributes such as qualification and work experience. Since the devaluation of their human capital was not disclosed to them prior arrival, they generally felt swindled into coming to Canada. An older FTP from Philippines who entered Canada as independent class immigrant in 1976 discusses his thoughts about the inherent immigrant selection aspects of the Canadian points system.

> ***"The points system has its good things and bad things. I would say that the bad thing about it is that it assigns a value to a person in terms of admissibility as an immigrant. Almost to the exclusion of other factors."***
> [21- 2.7]

Participants generally felt that Canadians were ill informed about the potential gains and losses made through immigration and perceived this as the underlying factor influencing societal acceptance of migrants.

8.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented what recent FTP migrants articulated from their immigration and integration experience in London, Ontario. Through analysis of their accounts, I emphasised the relationship between migrants' knowledge and experience, the existing institutional and organisational barriers, and the current social relations in Canada that play a part in maintaining the existing inequalities experienced by racialised migrants. The particular cases presented in this chapter elaborated the reasons behind participants' struggles to integrate (*i.e.* underrepresentation in highly skilled, professional positions within the labour market) into the Canadian society.

The chapter emphasised that Canada's culture and identity, contemporary race relations, the highly idealised multicultural ideologies, current and past immigration, and general immigration policy developments have influenced FTP migrants' socialisation into the Canadian society.

The analysis of the empirical data drew particular attention to the integration barriers and unmet needs of FTP migrants. The data revealed that in Canada FTP migrants who entered as convention refugee have comparatively similar integration experiences to the Independent Class immigrants.

The next chapter focuses on the interviews with service providers' regarding their outlook on immigration and integration in Canada. The chapter particularly attempts to contextualise migrants' accounts and highlight the institutional and organisational issues involved within both processes.

CHAPTER 9

ANALYSIS 2: THE SERVICE PROVIDERS' OUTLOOK

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused on FTP migrants' accounts of their immigration and integration experience in Canada. Their accounts revealed what they perceived as the main barriers they encountered post-migration to London, Ontario. The participants' accounts highlighted grave incoherencies within the existing Canadian public policy regarding immigration and immigrant integration and settlement provisions in Canada. Continuing the analysis of the empirical data, this chapter focuses on service providers' standpoint on FTP migrants' immigration and integration experience. The data presented is from five interviews with settlement organisations in London, an interview with a voluntary sector economist/researcher, an interview with Social Services in London (Ontario Works[112]), and a returned questionnaire from PEO. My aim was to cross-examine issues raised by FTP migrants regarding the local context and to incorporate local stakeholders' knowledge of FTP migrants' integration experience, so that I could identify factors influencing the types of settlement provisions and support provided to FTP migrants locally and how these could be improved. The stakeholders' sample was small because it was obtained purely for cross-referencing purposes. Since the questions addressed were open-ended, it was not possible to numerically analyse the responses. However, where possible I have highlighted areas where there was consensus.

As mentioned within the methodology chapter, I commenced this study thinking that there are inadequate service provisions for FTP migrants to integrate in Canada. The previous chapter highlighted how, contrary to my predictions, there were numerous

[112] It is the provincial welfare agency in London, Ontario. Besides providing social benefits Ontario Works recently through a pilot project started sponsoring a number of FTP migrants for recertification and retraining programs.

established Federal settlement agencies operating in the city of London. Nevertheless, the FTP migrants interviewed emphasised that these organisations' services were extremely basic in their scope. They mainly provided support for the initial stages of integration process, and were particularly suited to refugees and immigrants who entered under the Family class of immigration.

In view of the aims of the study, this chapter explores the local stakeholders' awareness of barriers to integration. Within this chapter, I will discuss:

i) The mismatch between current Canadian immigration policy, the types of immigrants Canada is targeting, and its actual demographic needs

ii) National *vs.* local settlement responsibilities

iii) Current integration systemic failure

iv) National *vs.* local immigration and integration accountability

v) Canada's systemic failure to recognise FTP migrants' integration needs

vi) Service provider's understanding on FTP migrants' integration barriers

vii) Current settlement service gap for FTP migrants

viii) Service provider's Recommendations for improvement of settlement services for FTP migrants

According to Mwarigha (2002: 25):

> ***"The experience of new immigrants is shaped by the specific character of the city, including its opportunities and barriers, its cultural and social life, and its institutions of governance and community participation."***

The basic assumption of this chapter is that London needs a broad vision of the settlement policy that not only deals with short-term and intermediate needs of FTP migrants but also establishes long-term goals to eliminate barriers to accessing existing services within the city and promotes migrants' full participation and inclusion.

9.2 THE MISMATCH BETWEEN CANADIAN IMMIGRATION SELECTION POLICY AND THE CURRENT SETTLEMENT APPROACH

In order to assess the extent to which there are mismatches between the current Canadian immigration policy, the types of immigrants Canada is targeting, and its actual demographic needs I needed to explore the broader immigration selection and integration issues involved. Immigration selection policy entails determining what types of migrants are given access to enter a country and the enforcement of due processes to ensure fairness and accountability is adhered to within the admission process.

Presently, both immigrant selection and settlement are part of federal immigration policy (Mwarigha, 2002: 25). Mwarigha stresses the need to distinguish between 'immigrant selection process' and 'settlement policy-making'. As it has already been mentioned, the Canadian selection process is motivated by federal government's economic considerations, international human rights, and Canada's security [For details refer to section 4.2.2].

As section 3.5 highlighted, Canada does not have a clearly defined integration or settlement policy, but has a range of uncoordinated policies, programs, and resources that support migrants once they are in Canada. The Canadian settlement policy should ideally engage all stakeholders involved within the integration process such as the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, and public service agencies and institutions such as universities, professional regulatory bodies, community charities and private foundations, plus the diverse migrant communities, which thus far it has not.

Evidence indicates that the settlement service problems since 1970s have been caused by three factors: i) poor management of settlement services, ii) tax/budget cut by higher level government, and iii) federal and provincial devolution of services to municipalities without provision of necessary resources at municipal/local level to meet the greater demands (*Ibid.*).

Service providers interviewed were asked about the main problems of Ontario's settlement service sector. Most participants drew attention to existing confusion regarding respective roles of the federal, provincial, and municipal governments with regards to immigrant selection, provision of settlement services, and allocation of funding for settlement services. The service providers particularly emphasised the incongruity within immigration governance with regards to:

i) Accountability towards migrants' integration

ii) Limited partnership between the federal and municipal government, settlement agencies, professional regulatory bodies and employers

iii) Existing disarray in funding of settlement resources, programs and services

iv) Systemic barriers, such as resistance to diversity and acceptance of migrants by regulatory bodies and employers, and

v) Societal racism at the core of current systemic and societal integration barriers FTP migrants are encountering

They generally attributed Canada's current problems with migrant integration to its lack of integrated immigration policy, common vision, and clear strategic goals regarding immigrant selection and settlement.

9.2.1 The Reality: The Type of Immigrants Canada is Targeting and Its Actual Demographic Needs

In view of the integration barriers FTP migrants experience in Canada, I was interested in identifying the types of immigrants Canada actually needs. Therefore, I asked the service providers *"Do you think that immigrants entering Canada actually match the Canadian demographic and labour needs as the Canadian government declares through its immigration policy?"* The participants unanimously said that they were not

sure whether recent migrants did actually match the Canadian demographic and labour needs in other cities and regions but emphasised how those who entered London often did not match the local labour market demands. The participant from *Ontario Works* highlighted how this occurs because visa officers are often ignorant about the labour markets across Canada[113].

> *"Do they* [immigrant officers] ***know anything about the labour markets? Are the people who are recruiting understanding the evolving labour market? ... If we recruit in 1999, by the time the person finishes the application process and comes to Canada it's 2002. I'm an employment specialist I know that the employment need in 1999 is not necessarily the same today. Certainly there's a lot of labour market research that tells us what's up-coming."*** [I3- 3.1]

She further expanded on immigration system's lack of accountability towards FTP migrants:

> ***"In practice, as far as we know, the Immigration Officer that is sitting across from them is not going to come and tell a doctor 'You're going to be working as a taxi driver! Would you want to come to Canada?"*** [I3- 2.6]

The settlement service participants highlighted that the hardest aspect of their work was dealing with the frustration FTP migrants expressed because of being misinformed about their employment circumstances in Canada. In order to encourage successful integration they felt that consulates and embassies should take on the responsibility to inform potential immigrants at the initial stages of application for immigration and assist them in matching their employment aspirations and qualification to the locality that would offer them best employment opportunity.

The participants generally expanded by emphasising London's local economy and labour demands are in skilled trades such as plumbing, electrician, and construction, *etc.*). However, according to them migrants who came to London were predominantly FTP migrants who were physicians and civil engineering wherein employment prospects are very low. They questioned why such a mismatch was occurring and

---

[113] For most immigrants, the first official point of contact and source of information about immigration to Canada is the local Canadian consulate or embassy. Visa officers process immigration applications and provide prospective immigrants with basic information about living and working in Canada.

welcomed further investigation. For instance, the PEO participant [I8] confirmed that although PEO generally does not keep statistics about national or ethnic origin of its members they do keep record of the school(s) where the applicants had received their education. In 2002, nearly 30% of all members were educated outside Canada. Based on participant's observation the majority of the non-Canadian educated applicants were noted to come from India and or Pakistan (about 50%) with the second largest group coming from mainland China whilst the rest came from throughout the world with some concentration in the old eastern European block.[114]

Moreover, the voluntary sector economist/researcher interviewed confirmed the importance of macroeconomic analysis of Canada's economy and validated its need for unskilled workers:

> ***"The lower skilled have more chances because they have less restrictions to be recognised and to be licensed. This is why the lower-skilled can easily find a job because maybe the labour market needs more of these lower-skilled individuals."*** [I7- 3.7]

The participants generally drew attention to the fact that Canada selects migrants based on a skills assessment formula that is not recognised by many of the professional and trades associations within Canada. They asserted that this phenomenon had the adverse effect of forcing many highly skilled migrants out of their profession and into positions where they were underemployed or even unemployment. They particularly blamed the current immigration points-based system for giving migrants the false impression that the Canadian labour market shortages are within the highly skilled professions. They highlighted how most FTP migrants entered Canada with the expectations that they could easily integrate within their respective profession. Their comments supported FTP migrants' assertion that the Canadian immigration policy merely attracts immigrants without a consideration of a systemic integration strategy that would economically and

[114] This participant highlighted that in recent years Ontario had seen a significant increase in FT engineers applying for licensing. For instance in 2002 it was noted that PEO received about 2400 applicants for licensure from non-Canadian educated engineers in Ontario, whilst in 1997 the figure was lower at about 600. Out of those applied in 2002, almost 700 licenses were issued to non-Canadian educated engineers and just over 700 licenses to Canadian educated engineers.

socially incorporate those who are let in. A placement officer from *WIL* highlighted this point by questioning the intentions of the Canadian immigration policy:

> ***"All they've*** [referring to the Federal government] ***done is attract them. You know! They've brought them here but was that their only purpose? And if their only purpose is to bring more skilled workers here, they've accomplished that. But I don't know what their purpose was or what their mandate is. I mean, did they really look at why are we setting this*** [referring to the Canadian points system] ***all up? I don't know. I would have asked a lot of questions around why are we doing this, you know!"***
> [I2- 2.6]

9.2.2 National *vs.* Local Settlement Responsibilities

Since migrants generally experience settlement at the local level within the communities and neighbourhoods, the settlement policy's concentration should be at the city level. Therefore, the cities should play an important role in developing urban settlement policy, which takes into account the potential contributions of the different stakeholders involved within the integration process. However, according to Owen (1999), currently decisions about the allocation and priorities for federal settlement funding, (which is currently estimated as over $50 million Ca.) continues to be made with no effective formal input by local stakeholders. Currently, owing to increasing demand for settlement services and the financial constrains caused by federal and provincial devolution policies, municipal leaders have become very active in seeking added financial support and a greater role within immigration policy and planning. The participant from the *United Way of London*[115] [I6] highlighted how because of the growing demand for settlement services in recent decade; private foundations and community charities in London have increased their funding support for immigrant services sector.

---

[115] United Way is a not-for-profit agency, which raises and distributes funds to various community agencies through volunteer-based campaign and allocation process. It offers consultation and assistance to human care services; provides leadership in community problem solving; service development and coordination; inter-agency networking and information sharing, and research and identification of priority human care service needs in London and Middlesex.

In view of the above changes, it is apparent that Canada needs a new settlement policy framework designed to be responsive to local priorities and circumstances, should involve collaboration between various levels of government, a certain level of transparency, public accountability, and particularly *all* citizen's input.

9.2.3 National *vs.* Local Immigration and Integration Accountability

Although the Federal government of Canada has historically been responsible for immigration, it has never taken steps to be genuinely accountable. As mentioned in section (4.2.2) adherents of this argument believe that immigration concentration on *'transferable skills'* associated with Bill C-11 are an example of government's effort to remove accountability towards integration of FTP migrants who have entered in the past three decades. The settlement service providers interviewed questioned the reasoning behind increasing immigration flexibility whilst the existing FTP migrants in Canada were clearly not integrated. They highlighted that it was vital for the Canadian federal government officials to further explore the foundation of the immigration mandate and the vision in order to assess whether the policy in practice is appropriate and operational. For instance, a placement officer from *WIL* expressed her concerns regarding the current immigration policy:

> ***"It certainly sounds like immigration is trying to make it easier for people to come, but why? Are they thinking about filling more of those general labourer jobs? I don't know. I mean if it's not the skilled labourer then why are they recruiting them for? If it's the transferable skills, we could have many, many, many more people coming with no profession, no education, very basic English, and still pass all the criteria!"***
>
> [I2- 3.0]

Empirical evidence suggests that in Canada, there are major discrepancies within settlement service provisions and the services provided are not adequate for the new migrants (*Chief Administrative Officer*, 2001; Geronimo, 2000; Simich, 2000). As noted

in section (2.4.1), the current settlement system is relatively unsuccessful when it comes to eliminating barriers to access especially within the medium and long-term phases of settlement. This is because currently human and economic resources are often primarily allocated to meet migrants' immediate settlement needs. Moreover, currently the federal resource allocation for settlement services is regularly dictated by demands and ad-hoc changes in immigration policy priorities.

Mwarigha (2002: 25-26) asserts that effective devolution of settlement policy necessitates it to develop into a matter of local responsibility. He claims that currently lower levels of government provide many services required for effective long-term settlement of migrants (*Ibid*: 22). Immigrant selection should remain as a federal function. He highlights the importance of local level development of comprehensive urban settlement policy covering domains such as "*Leadership and governance, policy development, planning and programming, and service delivery and coordination*" (*Ibid*: 23). In accordance to him, the most critical gap within the current settlement approach is the lack of involvement of key institutions whose support is essential in integration success of migrants within the second phase of settlement (P. 33). Therefore, the cities ought to include all stakeholders in the planning, setting priorities, and defining protocols of accountability when cities are developing settlement services (P. 23).

9.2.4 Current Systemic Breakdown within the Immigrant Settlement Sector

According to reports by Ornstein (2000) and Harvey *et al.* (2001), today's immigrants (all categories included) are generally experiencing inequitably high levels of poverty compared to non-immigrant residents. The settlement service providers interviewed identified a number of indicators of a systemic breakdown within the immigrant settlement sector. Their responses comprised:

1) ***"Extensive delays in economic integration of immigrants***
2) ***Persistent barriers to fair access to professions and trades***
3) ***Declining health (emotional/psychological and physical) status of immigrants after arrival to Canada, and***
4) ***Growing association between poverty and segregation of immigrants in major cities"***

9.3 SYSTEMIC BARRIERS INFLUENCING MIGRANTS' INTEGRATION

Since settlement service providers are at the forefront of providing integration assistance to migrants in Canada, I was interested in finding out their understanding of what were FTP migrants' main integration barriers upon arrival in Canada and particularly in London, Ontario. The participants unanimously agreed that generally employment barriers were the most important barriers that FTP migrants experienced post-migration to Canada. They asserted that economic integration generally assisted migrants' overall integration in Canada. When participants were more specifically questioned about factors that had a bearing on FTP migrants' entry into their respective profession they emphasised numerous barriers comprising:

- Short route to employment' pressures
- Lack of incentives for employers to hire recent FTP migrants
- 'Overqualified myth'
- 'Canadians first' dilemma
- Discrimination: The 'Overqualified' myth

This section will focus on the above-mentioned systemic barriers influencing migrants' integration. The specialist researcher interviewed [I7] highlighted that despite FTP migrants' lack of integration having been an ongoing problem since 1970s, the federal and provincial governments have largely overlooked this problem. He noted that after decades of negligence and escalation in the number of FTP migrants entering Canada and their discontentment with employment and economic integration, finally both level

of government are increasingly acknowledging the scope of these problems. However, he believed that federal governments' shortage of resources was limiting how much was achieved by provincial government, the city, and existing settlement agencies.

Language competency has been one of the main concerns of the government officials, hence, ESL programmes have been one of the long-standing federally financed settlement services provided nationally. However, the settlement service providers interviewed alleged that FTP migrants they served in London generally did not have major language barriers.

> ***"As part of our programme*** [referring to employment] ***we do language assessments every week – every Friday. Out of 30 or 35 people currently taking part every month, maybe four or five are assessed as not having good command of English language, which is pretty insignificant. About five years ago, 50 to 60% were assessed as weak in English. That's about 40% higher."*** [I1-4.9]

Moreover, the specialist researcher interviewed called attention to some of the difficulties with the federal government's ESL schemes. He highlighted that the approach used within ESL programmes were out-dated and had insufficient focus on speaking skills where migrants have the most problem. In addition, he stressed that migrants were generally mixed despite their age and level of education, which was often impractical within the classroom setting.

> ***"I think they need to, and this is what I've written in the report, so they need to review the mechanism of providing decent courses to new Canadians with more focus on the needs of the professionals."*** [I7- 5.7]

When the service providers were asked whether they thought FTP migrants' qualifications and work experience were comparable with the mainstream Canadian professionals' qualifications, they opposed the claims that recent migrants were less qualified. They emphasised that many individuals they had met within their agencies had professional experience that crossed national boundaries. A placement officer from *WIL* gives an example of the type of clients they encounter.

> ***"So somebody who's worked for 15 years in Sarajevo has not only worked there they've gone and done consulting projects in Germany or have done projects in other parts of Europe. Same thing is common with a lot of Middle Eastern clients who often have post-secondary education in Europe."*** [I1- 4.6]

Similarly, when a member of PEO was questioned about the comparability of the FT engineers' qualifications with the Canadian standards, she noted that the education and work experience of FTP engineers approaching PEO are generally excellent, however she asserted that there were also a significant number whose education and experience were severely lacking. Nevertheless, she emphasised that it was difficult to make general statements since PEO's qualification assessment was done on an individual basis. However, when I asked more specifically about the common weaknesses FT engineers were demonstrating in comparison to the Canadian standards, she drew attention to migrants' understanding of the ethical codes of practice as the most significant knowledge gap they presented. Nevertheless, she underlined how the compulsory 12 months of Canadian experience commonly resolved this problem. In addition, she emphasised that although not commonly known by migrants it was possible to do engineering work without the licence under the supervision of certified Canadian engineer (P. Eng).

She also drew attention to how many FT engineers did not know how to properly compete for a job within the Canadian labour market. She suggested how frequently Canadian-trained engineers even had to change fields depending on the fluctuations within the job market and stressed the fact that FT engineers often did not understood this and did not expect to work in another field upon arrival in Canada.

Nevertheless, generally in accord with the FTP migrants interviewed, the settlement and employment service providers interviewed agreed that although FTP migrants' qualifications were essentially equivalent, they often were not being materialised in the same level in Canada. In fact, researchers and social analysts from the academic, community, and government sectors have asserted that there are systemic discriminations in Canada. However, despite the existing systemic barriers in Canada,

service providers believed that it was just to expect some level of onus or awareness from FTP migrants intending to settle in Canada.

> ***"I think some of the onus needs to be on the immigrants. They need to be told to do some homework too because so many of them come thinking that it's all just going to fall into place and it doesn't."*** [I2. 5.6]

9.3.1 'Short Route to Employment' Pressures

As FTP migrants in the previous chapter mentioned finding professional employment in Canada is very difficult and menial, low-paying jobs tend to be more accessible. To supplement their low income many FTP migrants turn to *Ontario Works* for social benefits. This phenomenon was confirmed by the figures provided by the participant from *Ontario Works*.

> ***"Recent statistics from (2002) indicates that Ontario Works cases generally use the services for 22 or 23 months. Approximately a little more than half of the cases are on less than a year; whilst less than six months was 36 to 37%; seven to twelve months 17%, thirteen to twenty-four months 17.5%, and then 26% were on longer than two years. Immigrants, certainly the new Canadians tend to be on the system even longer, however the length depends on what is the individual's skill sets, the level of education, and mobility."*** [I3]

In July 1997, *Ontario Works Program* was introduced which replaced London's General Welfare. *Ontario Works* initiated '*purchase of service*', which meant that some of its services became contracted out to several agencies within the community. In order to reduce the cost to social services, *Ontario Works* also introduced *'shortest root to employment'* for its clients within Ontario. The participant from *Ontario Works* explained what the new approach meant.

> ***"So when we say 'shortest route to employment' it is any job that the individual is able to maintain. We look into whether they can do some***

casual work; you know a week here, a week there. We don't expect somebody to take a job that they can't physically do. When we get somebody that's been trained as a technician, as a mechanic, or as a professor or a teacher or whatever, our goal is not to get them back to that. Our goal is to get them working as soon as possible so that they can go back to what they want to do– to what they are truly capable of doing."

[I3]

Currently, the two community agencies in London that are contracted through *Ontario Works* are the *WIL* and *Pathway Skill Development & Placement Centre.*[116] These agencies are contracted to set *employment action plan* (EAP) for the individuals referred to them by Ontario Works.

Currently there are two forms of assistance provided under *Ontario Works* program: employment assistance, which aims to merely get participants employed and basic financial assistance whereby the program offers income support that covers the cost of shelter and basic needs including food and clothing, discretionary benefits, and emergency assistance.

For *Ontario Works* participants, employment support means working closely with a casework team to gain access to countless resources, orientation sessions, and employment planning workshops. *Ontario Works* participants generally develop a job-search strategy with an employment counsellor from the contracted agencies. Often teams of employment counsellors within contracted agencies provide direct client services to migrants like employment counselling, career development guidance, and career planning and job search. The employment counsellors assist migrants to:

- Discover services, programs, and resources available at the London *Unemployment Help Centre* or at other community agencies
- Better understand the Canadian labour market information to assist them in their job search

[116] http://www.pathways.on.ca.

- Set achievable employment goals often through a personally tailored *employment action plan* (EAP)[117]
- Learn how to access the labour market effectively
- Resolve work related issues (*i.e.* translation of documentations, accessing professional licensing information and or assistance with Ontario accreditation and Canadian equivalencies[118], upgrading skills, recertification, and volunteer and work experience through work placements[119])
- Learn how to market themselves within the Canadian work environment and understand the Canadian culture[120]
- Résumé (Curriculum Vitae) writing and interview preparation
- Explore career options through career development guidance and other assessment tools that assess their interests and aptitudes

The placement counsellor interviewed from *WIL* highlighted that they had over 250 employees in the private sector, public sector, and the social service sector within the London community with whom they had established partnerships in terms of provision of job placement and voluntary opportunities. Several companies in London were recognised for their long-term commitment in accommodating *Ontario Works* clients such as: Siemens, 3M, Ford, Trojan, Beta, and Kellogg's. To facilitate expansion of existing partnership the agency works with London's Economic Development. However, due to funding mandates participants from settlement agencies highlighted that they had no contacts with employers or agencies in other cities or provinces.

---

[117] *Ontario Works* funds agencies like WIL to support immigrants in finding employment. The funding mandate requires the agency to follow a client up to six months after their first counselling session as they go through the process of securing employment.

[118] Translation and evaluation of prior qualification generally takes 7 to 12 weeks. In London the documentations are sent to either University of Toronto or to the World Education System (WES). WES is the largest not-for-profit international credential evaluation service in North America. In 2000, WES signed an agreement with the Government of Ontario to be its mandated credential evaluation service to immigrants, employers, academic institutions, and occupational regulatory bodies.

[119] Work placement is a scheme set by settlement agencies like WIL whereby they match their professional clients with employers in London area. The work experience placement offers eight weeks opportunity for an employer to host and for the client to learn about the culture of the Canadian workplace. FTP migrants generally bring their strength, expertise and global experience to the employer that hosts them and in the process increase diversity in the workplace, whilst they gain personal confidence, highly valued Canadian work experience, and establish networks.

[120] Learn about Canadian employment law and standards, salary and tax deductions, work contracts, and salary negotiation etiquette, *etc.*

Since *Ontario Works* operates with a mandate enforcing *'shortest route to employment'*, it systematically pressurises and maintains migrants in unskilled, low pay jobs, and often provokes dependency on social benefits. The *Ontario Works* participant underlined some of the difficulties they encountered concerning justifying the financial support they offered FTP migrants.

> ***"If you receive Ontario Works public dollar, the expectation is you will take whatever employment is available. So, you end up with these poor, unfortunate doctors who are totally qualified and could be neurosurgeons in their country receiving welfare.... What do you do with these people? We're also accountable to the taxpayers. So, we have set up a sort of volunteering programme called Community Placement. Through this programme our clients can do unpaid work in industry, so at least they can try to keep their skills active that way."*** [I3]

Consequently, the participants highlighted that WIL mostly provided advocacy and the EAP drafted by the agency played a vital role in the advocacy efforts. The breaking down of the steps towards successful employment within the action plan enabled FTP migrants to get accepted for income support through *Ontario Works* income assistance scheme while they tried to gain access to their respective professions through the various regulated bodies.

> ***"There is some validity to the argument of taking the time because when people get back into their own fields, particularly professional clients, the chances are that they are completely off the system because the income levels tend to be quite high. I mean we have people at professional level leave us and it's not unusual for them to make $50,000 to $70,000 Ca. a year; whereas, if they're rushed into a minimum wage job, they're still on the system*** [referring to receiving benefits]***...so we are able to make a case."*** [I1- 1.7]

The mandate set by HRDC required that 70% of the clients who had accessed *WIL's* employment services and had the opportunity for the eight weeks work placement to find employment. *WIL*'s statistics from March to April 2002 showed only 56% of the clients had found employment. The placement officer I had spoken to indicated that the consequence could potentially be future reductions in municipal funding. She believed that FTP migrants' first step to overcome employment barriers within their own

profession was acceptance of a related job, regularly an entry— graduate level position in their own field.

This point of view was also held by an *Ontario Works* participant who highlighted that FTP migrants who wished to gain work experience in their respective profession should consider employment in a related area within their field that did not required licensing.

> "[Canadian] ***legislation prevents volunteering in a private sector. So an engineer for example, a dental technician, an accountant could not volunteer for a long period because the legislation is very strict. It is built so that employers do not exploit people on Social Assistance. This creates an issue for someone who's trying to get his or her Canadian experience. So...what I would recommend an engineer to do is to begin working towards their PEO experience. They should look whether there are positions that they could start working in their field and are working towards getting their credentials."*** [I3-6.5]

9.3.2 Lack of Incentive for Employer's to Hire Recent FTP migrants

The placement officer at *WIL* [I1-2.0] generally highlighted how currently their partnership with the private sector went as far as only contracting work placement opportunities for the FTP clientele. It was noted that under the current contractual agreement, the private sector employers had no obligations to hire migrants referred to them through the agencies and were not aware of what FTP migrants could offer their organisation. For this reason, the agencies generally did not make arrangements for back-to-back placements with the same employers in order to not encourage exploitation of immigrants as cheap labour by fulfilling the employer's employment needs through the agreed placement scheme.

The participant also emphasised the systemic need for federal and provincially sponsored government incentives to be put in place to encourage employers to hire FTP migrants. She believed that such incentive scheme would also demonstrate

government's solidarity with its own immigration policy. She added there is a need for appeal to built communities and support full integration of FTP migrants. It was thought that monetary incentives in the form of tax deductions offered to employers for hiring migrants would offer motivations for the employers to consider the benefits gained from hiring migrants.

9.3.3 'Overqualified' Myth

As highlighted within the literature and from interviews with FTP migrants, currently employers commonly claim that migrants are overqualified for entry-level posts both within and outside their profession. Ideally, migrants should have better prospects in getting hired in lower positions. Rightly, those interviewed could not understand employer's logic behind such assertions. In an attempt to elucidate this phenomenon, another participant from *WIL* expresses how employers that commonly suppose migrants are overqualified for certain posts are not being genuine about their underlying prejudices towards immigrants.

> ***"You know, I think that's a cop-out. I really do! Every time I hear the term, that they're overqualified, I have to say whoever said that to them doesn't like something about their education, their accent, their culture. There's some kind of barrier there with the employer or whomever that has mentioned it because I don't think there's any such thing as being overqualified. Don't you think that if I was a business owner and I said that to you that I would be slapping myself stupid after you left!... Thinking he wants a job and I just told him, he has too good skills for me! Go to somebody else. Go to one of my competitors and get a job there... There's something in that statement that just doesn't ring true to me. Businesses in London would not send somebody away because they're overqualified. That's a cop-out. I don't buy that one."*** [I2-3.5]

She encourages FTP migrants to openly challenge the employer by saying *"I'm sorry, I don't understand what you mean by this? Is it my skills that gives you the impression that I'm overqualified? Let me show you I can do a menial job here and still do a real*

good job for you." The officer believed that we all have a responsibility to confront and educate individuals within the society in order to stop such overt racism.

Moreover, because of professional regulatory body and the private sector employers' lack of cooperation with regards to provision of work placement and mentoring opportunities, FTP migrants find it difficult to meet the work experience criteria set by regulated professions. The service providers interviewed felt that FTP migrants' lack of professional network was a major hindrance for them, which also affected their employment prospects within their respective profession.

> ***"There's no network that they*** [recent FTP migrants] ***have established. In their own cultural communities, they often people who support them settlement-wise. But when it comes to*** [professional] ***employment, they don't really have any network to get started."*** [I2- 5.1]

9.3.4 'Canadians First' Dilemma

Like many developed countries with high levels of immigration, Canada has a hiring policy enforcing *'Canadians first'* restrictions on employers. Although logical, this policy tends to be inconsistent with the Canadian multicultural principles and systemic integration of FTP migrants. Moreover, the current state of affairs provides further evidence of systemic differentiation of racialised population's qualifications and work experience from their Anglo-European, Caucasian, Canadian-born counterparts. The participants emphasised this point through commenting on the prevalence of name discrimination.

> ***"Your name alone will indicate that you are not mainstream and so clients battle with that as well and I mean I've had clients who wanted to change their first name and Anglicise it or shorten their last name so it can be pronounced. But those are choices individuals make that are not endorsed by us."*** [I1- 2.1]

9.4 CURRENT SETTLEMENT SERVICE GAP FOR FTP MIGRANTS

This section will cover the current settlement service gap for FTP migrants in London, Ontario. The participants were asked *'How can the services you are providing be improved?'* and more specifically *'what is needed to improve the services you provide in order to meet the demands addressed by FTP migrants?'* Participants generally highlighted three broad areas: i) Funding barriers, ii) Settlement agencies' lack of affiliation with professional regulatory bodies, and iii) Federal governments' lack of provisions for profession-specific language training.

For most new migrants the settlement journey typically begins with the immediate needs for reception, assistance, and orientation about Canada and the city where they have chosen to settle, along with translation and interpreting, and language instruction. Currently, in varying proportions CBO's, emergency relief agencies, and also the newcomers' families and communities meet these needs. Currently majority of federal and provincial settlement programs are based on meeting needs within the initial stage of settlement, however evidence indicates that migrants' settlement needs goes beyond basic welcome services currently provided by federal settlement programs. In fact, barriers to successful integration are most prominent in the later stages of settlement [Refer to section 2.4 and 3.4 for details].

At present settlement, services generally provide a scope of services including:

- Reception, orientation, translation and interpretation and language training programs
- Referral to community resources
- Paraprofessional counselling and general information, employment readiness programs, job search workshops
- Social support, advocacy

Currently, settlement agencies in London, Ontario provide services that are useful to traditional refugees, family class, and unskilled immigrants. Given that, the Independent immigrants are usually self-sponsored, and skilled they are not perceived as high priority when it comes to provision of free settlement services.

The participants within this study noted that traditionally the Independent class of immigrants were ill informed or often unaware of the assistance provided through settlement agencies. They highlighted how generally there is a lack of systemic and centralised means of disseminating fundamental community information on resources available to recent migrants within the community. They asserted that such shortcomings was becoming even more vital since Canada is dispersing immigration to less metropolitan, smaller, and not traditionally diverse and congested cities across Canada, like London, Ontario. The participants claimed that on average it approximately took three and a half months to about eighteen months before Independent immigrants found their way to settlement organizations within London.

The participants from settlement agencies asserted that they generally conducted 7 to 12 outreach activities a year. These outreaches gave the agencies the opportunity to inform the community about the services they were providing. They claimed that 70% of their clientele customarily came through '*word-of-mouth*', while the rest came from referrals through federally sponsored language classes, referrals from various ethnic and cultural communities, other settlement agencies, and from *London Ontario Works*.

A participant from *WIL* [I1-1.8] highlighted the mandate for their services and emphasised how anyone not in employment was eligible for their programs. For instance in 2002 approximately 60 to 70% of the clientele were social benefits recipients. Whilst, *Ontario Works* participant highlighted that 44% of their caseload were actually immigrants.

When considering settlement service gap, the participants unanimously drew attention to *'one-stop service provision'*. They highlighted the fact that having all of the initial settlement and employment information needs covered by an individual in a reliable

agency could enable FTP migrants to have consistent and precise information. They asserted how migrants often have difficulties finding good and consistent information throughout the initial stages of integration.

Another major need identified was financial support to cover accreditation and examination process fees. Currently there is no money to assist migrants to cover such costs, however in 2002 *Ontario Works* on a pilot basis initiated and carried a scheme providing financial support to FT medical doctors who were in receipt of social assistance[121]. The settlement service providers generally claimed that the federal and municipal government should identify the top three professions of migrants entering various regions in Canada and arrange for a loan scheme, which would provide financial assistance for examination and the certification and or registration process for FTP migrants in the selected fields.

9.4.1 Settlement Agency's Funding Shortages

As already discussed, due to budget cuts to settlement services and devolution of settlement responsibilities, there has been a reduction in the overall number of service providers. This has left the surviving medium-to large-size settlement service agencies struggling to meet the demands of increased numbers of migrants. The increased emphasis from the major funders on short-term, program-specific contractual agreements accompanied by elaborate and costly administrative accountability demands have led to a growing concentration of programs within the larger agencies, and a corresponding decrease in the diversity of agencies involved in settlement services.

[121] As part of this pilot scheme in addition to the usual Ontario Works Employment Assistance Support the costs of Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), Medical Council of Canada Qualifying Exams (Part 1 and 2), text books, some initial medical supplies, translation of documents to English, and transportation and accommodations while writing exams in Toronto was covered. By (2003) total funds issued to all FT doctors for period between (July 2002- April 2003) was $52,541Ca. In addition, the average fund issued for participants for costs of exams was $2.790Ca. Sixteen participants were supported to write medical exams, out of those three participants got employment and were off *Ontario Works*, and nine participants were in ESL and hoping to write the medical exams.

Moreover, since most community-based agencies have few connections to funders and upper levels of government they have very little input on policy development and program planning. Owing to the recent devolution of settlement services [Refer to section 9.2], partners at the provincial and local levels have gained administration and funding responsibilities. Nevertheless, to date federal policy and program planning continues to operate top-down. In fact, within the devolved structure federal governments' allocation of resources for settlement services are still dictated by demands and *ad hoc* changes in immigration policy priorities. The changes have also resulted in transition from government-sponsored to program-specific service funding where larger agencies with more administrative resources for management of the programs are generally favoured. This phenomenon to a certain degree has weakened the service delivery system of settlement agencies. According to Owen (1999), it has severely limited settlement agencies' abilities to plan medium or long-term programs.

Presently, settlement services in London are provided by non-governmental, community-based immigrant service agencies that are funded by the different levels of government, charities, and private foundations. The devolution of settlement services has caused many community-based service providers, particularly the smaller "ethno-specific" agencies, to curtail their services drastically.[122]

The settlement agencies interviewed were predominantly not-for-profit organisations that were primarily publicly funded and received funding from all levels of government. They had no permanent funding; consequently annually reapplied to various funding sources through proposals indicating the benefits of the service(s) for which they were seeking funding. The settlement service providers interviewed asserted that reduced funding through the federal government had forced the agencies to seek money from diverse funders who normally set different mandates based on the services and or projects they were supporting. The funding mandates often restricted the agencies clientele-base[123], the type of services they could provide, and general agency operation.

---

[122] Numerous studies have documented the effects of devolution and restructuring of settlement services on CBOs operating in Ontario including: Owen, 1999; Richmond, 1996; Shields, 2002, and Simich, 2000.

[123] The mandate set by the funders for specific services often restricts the service provider's client-base in different ways. For instance in London some agencies are constrained to only serve immigrant clients,

The participants emphasised how the funding situation was i) causing disconnected and fragmented services; ii) affected sharing of information, and iii) endorsing damaging competition between the existing settlement agencies, hence affecting the level of inter-agency communication and collaboration.

The participant from LUSO, remarked:

> ***"I think London could do better. A lot has been brought on by the financial environment and competitiveness... The competitive and the volatile nature of funding create barriers for non-profit organisations to partner to the level that they could. I think part of that is that it is territorial. Sort of "If I work with them too much they are going to take my clients and then I won't get my funding'.... Part of it is that there are just not enough resources for what people want to do. There is not enough funding there and we know it is a competition. We know it is the survival of the fittest, who offers the best service and who can do the most for the least .. kind of thing. So, I think that automatically, whether you want to or not, puts up barriers of how agencies will work with each other and to what depth. It is like everybody is territorial and has 'don't step on my turf' kind of attitude, you know! 'Don't come and mess with my clients, go find your own clients' and so. I am not sure what has brought that culture but London does seem to be infamous for it. Sometimes is because there is no time to actually sit down and hammer through all the things about a partnership and so on, you are just so busy trying to keep the programmes going and that type of thing as well."*** [I4- 2.8]

9.4.2 Settlement Agencies' Lack of Affiliation with Professional Regulatory Bodies

The participants emphasised FTP migrants' need for access to employers and cooperative and mentoring schemes coordinated by settlement agencies. For instance, a participant from *WIL* highlighted that:

> ***"Private sector needs to have a permanent place in the community and should be more involved. I mean there are some private***

whilst others only *Employment Insurance* (EI) eligible clients, yet others only serve *Ontario Works* clients.

> ***corporations that are very involved in the community, and give, but they give monetarily through United Way or through other agencies. Sometimes you actually don't want the donation, you want them to place*** [referring to provision of work placement] ***an individual so that it could lead to a job... and that is something that we are going to focus on in the next five years."*** [I1- 2.5]

The placement officers interviewed stressed that *Work Placement Scheme* offered an opportunity to recent migrants to apply their professional skills within the Canadian employment setting. In addition to gaining the invaluable Canadian work experience, the opportunity bestowed them with self-confidence in their job search techniques and opened-up opportunities to consider related jobs within their profession that were less difficult to gain access. The placement opportunity also offered performance evaluation, which could potentially highlight the areas the individual FTP migrant needed to develop in order to increase their chances of obtaining employment within the Canadian labour market.

Whilst considering FTP migrants' employment requirements, the settlement service providers acknowledged the necessity for establishing affiliations with the existing professional regulatory bodies in Ontario. In order to better accommodate numerous FT engineers and physicians who had sought employment assistance from the agencies in London, the agencies had started establishing links with the PEO and CPSO. Their main aim was to facilitate access to information on registration, and licensing. The participants emphasised how most of their FTP clientele were unable to afford the fees for the registration examinations. In view of the shortages Canada is supposedly experiencing in both fields, the service providers questioned the way in which the licensing process for regulated professions was often unreasonable in integrating FTP migrants.

9.4.3 Federal Governments' Lack of Provisions for Profession-specific Language Training

When the settlement service providers were questioned about what they deemed as a gap in resources, numerous noted that one of the leading barriers the agencies encountered in the programs they provided to FTP migrants was the lack of profession-specific technical language training. The participants highlighted how this was also the main complaint made by their partner employers within the community who hosted FTP migrants within their organisation. As the previous chapter highlighted, FTP migrants were also aware of needing such profession-specific language training and work experience. However, the participants claimed that the settlement agencies were unable to meet this need due to lack of financial resources and specialised individuals within various regulated professions that were interested in developing the curriculum.

9.5 CONCLUSION

The responses from the service providers in this chapter has highlighted how Canada's lack of clear integration policy has encouraged uncoordinated and piece-meal approach to migrant integration. It has emphasised the lack of link between the current immigration policy, points system's immigrant selection, the types of immigrants Canada is targeting and its actual demographic needs. The chapter also drew attention to the current lack of infrastructure to systemically ensure and support migrants' social and economic integration.

Although Canada is targeting FTP migrants, its lack of clear integration policy has led to systemic failure to meet FTP migrants' particular integration needs, which has consequently led to their lack of social and economic integration. Since labour market integration is the most important barrier migrants experience post-migration to Canada,

the lack of systemic acknowledgement of the barriers has encouraged uncoordinated and piece-meal approach to their economic integration.

Currently, there is a high demand for federally enforced labour integration infrastructure whereby the involvement of key stakeholders and institutions involved in the recognition of qualification, licensing, qualification upgrading, employment training, federally supported and community-based settlement and employment services, and public and private employers are encouraged. Such coordinated effort requires federal and municipal government to set a clear code of practice mandate for all parties to take a collaborative effort to integrate FTP migrants within their respective profession.

Focusing more specifically on settlement service provision, this chapter highlights that the lack of clear integration policy and accountability guidelines, plus devolved integration structure has caused:

i) Confusion concerning national *vs.* local settlement service provision and accountability

ii) Increased service pressures at local level without corresponding funding

iii) Has encouraged fragmented settlement service provision

iv) Increased competition amongst local service providers, and

v) Increased confusion for immigrants seeking services

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION: THE BROADER APPLICATION OF THE CANADIAN CASE STUDY

Canada is a liberal, multicultural society that claims it needs FTP migrants for its economic growth. Consequently, it has deliberately targeted this category of immigrants over the past three decades. However, evidence indicates that they generally experience major integration barriers whilst in Canada. This phenomenon questions and challenges the purpose and effectiveness of the Canadian immigration policy and points-based immigrant selection framework, which focuses on migrants' human capital.

This thesis primarily focused on FTP migrants' subjective accounts of their immigration and integration experience in Canada. The empirical study interpreted 42 semi-structured; qualitative interviews with recent FTP migrants (1970s onwards) plus seven interviews with service providers over three consecutive summers from 2001 to 2003. The idea for the study originated from my personal interest to present the marginalized stories of FTP migrants and interpret their subjective accounts. The study stemmed from my genuine aim to determine how current FTP migrants perceived their integration experience and identified integration needs in Canada. The research arose from my personal and political belief that in order to improve Canadian immigration policy and improve migrants' integration, immigrants need to be brought into the knowledge creation process through a 'bottom-up' approach to research whereby their experiences are acknowledged.

My main objective was to understand the socio-cultural, structural, and institutional barriers prohibiting FTP migrants' full integration in Canada. The thesis particularly identified the extent to which FTP migrants experience 'entry effect' and 'taxi driver

phenomenon' and the impact of these phenomenons on their and their family's general well-being and integration within the broader society. In view of this, my main aim was to understand the various factors that contributed to the maintenance and the development of inequalities evidenced since late 1960s to the present day.

The empirical research for this thesis was premeditated to consider the current knowledge gap within the field of immigration and integration. The prevalent disparities within migrants' experience necessitated understanding the differences between different categories of immigrants, namely the headhunted and non-headhunted FTP Independent class immigrants, FTP refugees, FTP migrants who entered with a work visa, and those who entered Canada as a student and diverse migrant-origins groups. Through the primary qualitative research for this study, I explored recent FTP migrants' subjective accounts regarding decision to migrate and post-migration integration experience. The main objective of the empirical study was to understand in what ways the inequalities experienced in Canada were reflected in post-migration personal experiences of FTP migrants interviewed and where inequality and disadvantage were experienced, what coping strategies these migrants employed to overcome the integration barriers encountered. I examined their subjective accounts in order to complement and enhance the existing empirical evidence and our understanding of '*where*' and '*how*' these migrants fit within the broader global movement of knowledge economy and more specifically within the Canadian society.

The main research questions this study answered was:

i) *What are the subjective immigration experiences of recent FTP migrants to Canada?'*
ii) *What are the subjective integration experiences of recent FTP migrants to Canada?'*

The findings of the study was then scrutinised with consideration of the question '*What relevance do the accounts have for general immigration policy developments?*'

Canada does not have a clearly defined integration or settlement policy with an understood set of standards, and principles or even purpose to integrate the high number of immigrants it receives. However, it has a range of uncoordinated policy, programs,

and resources that support migrants once they are in Canada. In view of the integration difficulties FTP migrants experience in Canada it is evident that attracting migrants is not enough. The lack of pan-Canadian and long-term perspectives on settlement provision has caused service crisis. Thus far, the settlement framework has not engaged all stakeholders involved within the integration process, such as the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, the public service agencies, and institutions such as universities, professional regulatory bodies, community charities, and private foundations plus the existing diverse migrant communities. Such coordinated effort requires federal and municipal government to set a clear code of practice mandate for all parties to take a collaborative effort to integrate FTP migrants within their respective profession.

Using Canada as a case study, this thesis generally highlights the multifaceted nature of immigration and integration process and draws attention to *macro*, *meso*, and *micro*analysis of both processes. At the macro level, the thesis analysed international migration, the global movement of knowledge economy, and contextualised the Canadian immigration policy. At the meso level, it emphasised how Canada's socio-political history influences its immigration policy development and national immigration intake. It particularly underlined the way in which immigrants' integration within the host society is dependent on the society's notions of citizenship and ideological, socio-cultural, political, and structural approach to management of diversity, the extent to which integration is prioritised, and national systemic provisions made.

This study stemmed from a hypothesis that assumed in order to facilitate better integration of FTP migrants there is a need to understand social, historical, cultural, structural, organisational, and economic and political developments in Canada. It assumed that these factors have played a major role in how migrants are currently perceived and the extent to which they are socially and institutionally permitted to integrate. The study particularly highlighted how multiple levels of analysis is required in setting national immigration policy.

The evidence from the literature indicated that integration processes tend to be multifaceted in nature, comprising of emotional and psychological, socio-cultural, and economic features. However, FTP migrants' labour market participation at the level on a par with their qualification and expertise in the host society was distinguished as the primary factor influencing their successful integration. Migrants in Canada generally experience entry effect because of the difficulties they encounter in transferring human capital gained outside of Canada. At present, Canada does not have a central organisation that deals with migrants' human capital transfer and there are multiple models in use.

Currently the responsibility for granting licensing and assessment of previous professional credentials is divided among several organisations such as federal and provincial government, regulated bodies, PSE institutions, and employers. There are also credential assessment incompatibility between learning institutions, employers, and professional occupations in Canada. Moreover, unfair recruitment practices involving narrow channels and exclusive procedures, regulated professions' professional autonomy concerning certification and registration, migrants' limited knowledge of the Canadian labour market, the Federal government and employer's reluctance to invest in upgrading migrants' human capital, language proficiency barriers, and discrimination play a major part.

However, thus far, the Canadian Federal government has overlooked these barriers within its immigration framework. Consequently, migrants are generally selected based on the points system's skills assessment formula that is often not recognised by many of the professional and trades associations within Canada. This results in post-migration exclusion of highly educated FTP migrants from professional fields. Whether the analysis presented in this thesis is accepted or rejected, it remains that many FTP migrants experience major disadvantages in obtaining recognition for their credentials and work experience in Canada. This leads to their limited participation within the labour market and the broader society. However, in Canada there are variations in the level of integration migrants from different ethnic groups' experience.

This thesis generally argues that integration barriers in Canada are socially constructed and if this is accepted, then there is no reason why these constructions cannot be challenged and for new models of integration to be developed. The disadvantaged positioning of migrants and racialised and ethnic nationals is an indication of the incongruity between the immigration selection policies and integration framework in Canada. Currently, the Canadian immigration policy:

i) Operates within an ineffective 'top down' infrastructure

ii) Lacks explicit doctrine justification and also short and long-term goals

iii) Has conflicting immigration aspirations namely nation-building *vs.* meeting demographical needs

iv) Lacks in clarity regarding Canada's absorptive capacity

v) Has complicated and inoperative immigration categorisation as a result of debates regarding quantity *vs.* quality of immigration inflow

vi) Lacks clear integration policy or framework

vii) Presents systemic failure to recognise FTP migrants' integration needs

viii) Lacks in clarity between national *vs.* local settlement responsibilities and accountability

Focusing more specifically on settlement service provision, the lack of clear integration policy and accountability guidelines, plus devolved integration structure has:

- Caused confusion concerning national *vs.* local settlement service provision and accountability
- Increased service pressures at local level without corresponding funding
- Encouraged fragmented settlement service provision
- Increased competition amongst local service providers, and
- Increased confusion for immigrants seeking various services needed for settlement

Therefore, the review of the literature for the most part concentrated on the critical assessment of the effectiveness of the Canadian Federal government's reliance on

immigration to meet its social, economic, and demographic demands. The discussions highlighted the gaps between government's rhetoric regarding how successful Canada has been in meeting its vision through immigration and the reality.

Moreover, there is scepticism about recent changes to immigration selection policy and the introduction of skill-based selection through Bill C-11. Critics generally postulate that the changes are in response of government's aim to remove pressures from the responsibility of integrating FTP migrants.

The findings from the empirical data show that the immigration category under which FTP migrants enter Canada influences their integration experience. For instance, participants who were headhunted and entered Canada with a Work Permit or a Visa and those who entered as postgraduates were found to be opportunistic and had made the decision to emigrate based on social and human capital opportunities within Canada. However, FTP refugees predominantly emigrated because of political problems and security concerns in their home countries. As a result, nearly a third of participants (13/42) immigrated in order to secure better future, (12/42) did so because of political and security factors, and almost a quarter (10/42) for professional development.

The FTP refugees generally highlighted that it was faster to enter Canada under humanitarian grounds rather than through Independent immigrant status predominantly due to differences in application processing times. From these interviews, it is also evident that the FTP refugees generally have similar expectations of life, social, cultural, and professional integration in Canada as Independent Class immigrants. In fact, participants generally had heard of great opportunities in Canada and had an idealised image of Canada. They had generally come to the decision to immigrate to Canada based on the information they obtained from friends and family in Canada rather than from Canadian immigration officials. They generally felt that because of erroneous information about reality of migrants' situation in Canada they had no opportunity to prepare for the numerous barriers they had or were encountering in Canada.

For most participants finding employment in their own profession was the most important factor in establishing a new life in Canada. This reflected previous studies in the field. In fact, the examination of migrants' employment status supported previous assertions regarding Canada's structural and institutional Eurocentricism. The migrants who were employed at the time of the interview i) had postsecondary degrees from North America or Western European countries, ii) almost all had secured a post pre-migration to Canada, or iii) had been headhunted from abroad. This phenomenon reproduces national class structures and encourages division of labour based on national origin and place of education. In Canada, regulated professions often encourage reproduction of their own members through differential treatment of foreign-educated and trained professionals. The rigorous certification system regulated professions employ favours individuals with Western education, training, and experience. In addition, certain regulated professions have a vested interest in keeping the numbers of practitioners within the profession at a certain level in order to keep salaries high (Janzen *et al.*, 2001).

The participants attributed their difficulties with foreign qualification recognition to employers and institutions' fear of making hiring errors. They assumed that it encouraged the existing risk averseness in certification practices within regulated professions. Nevertheless, there was consensus amongst the participants regarding the fact that the fundamentals of postsecondary qualifications from developing countries were compatible with western standards with an exception of access to latest technology and research. Many believed that the technological incongruity could be resolved through development of short-term "*on the job*" practical training. However, the higher postsecondary education the migrants had, there was more likelihood of it being recognised at the same level in Canada.

However, the participants' main complaint about access to professions was Canada's lack of clear infrastructure for integration of FTP migrants. For instance, the verification of foreign qualification and recertification process was identified as too lengthy and expensive; therefore, suggestions were made for government sponsored fast-track retraining or upgrading schemes which incorporated opportunities to obtain Canadian work experience in the most common professional fields and profession-specific

language training. A few participants even suggested an innovative way of having the scheme in place without any cost to the public funds. Based on their suggestions, regulatory organisations or employers could enter a contract similar to national military schemes that would bind FTP migrants to lower income or volunteer work for a contracted period to cover the ensuing costs of setting-up the infrastructure and running the schemes.

In addition, 18 out of 42 participants highlighted the systemic need for effective employment resources, which would cater to FTP migrants. They drew attention to the current need to provide general information regarding local and national services, grants and other subsidies, information about regulated professions and recertification procedures, and employment practices in Canada. Concerning personal support, majority of the participants highlighted the need for community-based support and mentoring groups geared specifically for FTP migrants.

Whilst discussing Federal government's responsibilities towards ensuring integration of migrants, the participants drew attention to a number of issues that ought to be considered when planning settlement services. The need for:

i) Introduction and facilitation of joint programming of settlement services so it involves all potential stakeholders (i.e. the Federal and Municipal government, immigration policy makers, Federally funded social and settlement services and organisations, the NGOs, the ethno-specific and multi-ethnic agencies, the regulated professions, and employers from public and private sector work together to increase access to regulated professions)

ii) Provision of information on Canada's labour market, regulated professions, recertification and or licensing, and professional employment prior to landing

iii) Provision of individualised settlement services with follow-up, including accurate, appropriate, and effective information that produces concrete outcomes

iv) Facilitation of networking within FTP migrants' respective profession (*i.e.* support groups and professional mentoring scheme)

The interviews with the service providers revealed that most provide generic settlement and employment services and often do not have expert knowledge and resources to deal with FTP migrants' needs. They particularly emphasised the incongruity within immigration governance with regards to existing disarray in funding of settlement resources, programs and services; limited partnership between the federal and municipal government, settlement agencies, professional regulatory bodies and employers, and systemic and societal resistance to diversity and acceptance of migrants.

The participants emphasised the way in which because of funding problems settlement service providers generally become preoccupied with maintaining their operations, which is often to detriment of services for the clients. This phenomenon has caused them to become selfish and encouraged territoriality and possessiveness with resources and outcomes.

The strength of this study is in its emphasis on process. The study particularly focuses on migrants' rationale for moving and the decisions in relation to settlement and implications of these decisions on the individual and their families. Thus far, the evidence available has been merely descriptive and quantitative, therefore generally the individual account or the bigger picture have been left out. Layder's (1993) conceptualalisation of the research process discussed in section (5.2) generally highlighted the interplay between the various layers of analysis whilst investigating a social phenomenon and drew attention to the multi-directional interrelationship between structure (*i.e.*, '*social context*' and '*institutional setting*') and agency (*i.e.*, '*situated activity*' and '*individual agency*'). Since research into the personal immigration and integration experience of FTP migrants has been noticeably overlooked, through exploration of participants' pre-migration circumstances and their hopes and an expectation regarding life in Canada, the empirical research for this study has generally contributed towards contemporary understanding of both processes.

Moreover, existing studies have predominantly acknowledged the importance of labour market inequalities; however, they have given insufficient attention to the way in which the earnings do not equate with professional status. They have also disregarded how

subjective and objective measures of economic success are not necessarily highly correlated. Consequently, they have overlooked migrants' subjective assessment of their level of integration. This study fills such empirical gap.

The macro level contribution of this study to the field of immigration and integration is the study's emphasis on considering both national as well as local absorptive capacity when setting immigration policy and the need to establish corresponding integration policy and infrastructure in order to incorporate the new migrants. The study also emphasises the futility of nationally targeting certain categories of immigrants because of difficulties involved with systemically controlling the way in which migrants use the categories. Thus, necessitates the examination of current Canadian immigration policy. Whilst considering the administrative problems the study also highlights the way in which current Canadian Federal and provincial partnership in immigration has the potential of creating severe co-ordination problems that might have detrimental operational as well as systemic transparency and accountability impact.

The study highlights how although migrants' integration is a significant problem on a national level it also has a local impact based on where immigrants chose to settle and the social and economic absorptive capacity of the locality. In addition, I drew attention to the way in which available evidence has largely been concerned with migrants' economic success in Canada, which gives way for arguing that this approach to a certain extent has obscured cultural, social, and organisational dimensions within migrants' integration experience that the empirical data for this study highlights. Moreover, the findings of this study are evidence that immigration and integration issues are too complex to be captured through quantitative approach alone.

Through this study, it is evident that migrants generally experience settlement at the local level within the communities and neighbourhoods; therefore, the settlement policy's concentration should be at the city level. There is a need for Federal government to acknowledge the necessity of having cities more involved in developing urban settlement policy, which would also take into account the potential contributions of the different stakeholders involved within the integration process. In view of the

above, it is apparent that Canada needs a settlement policy framework that is responsive to local priorities and circumstances and involves Federal, provincial, and municipal government collaboration, transparency, and public accountability, and *all* citizens input.

The study draws attention to how Canada still has predominantly labour demands in service and manufacturing jobs. This raises ethical and human rights questions about the reason why Canada continues to target FTP migrants. It also questions Federal governments' level of transparency and accountability in relation to immigrant integration.

Whilst considering the highly celebrated multiculturalism and the principals of equality embedded within the Canadian culture, it is important to note the underlying rhetoric *vs.* reality dichotomy involved in these policies. For instance if the aim of multiculturalism in Canada is to manage diversity in a sense that it would create an ethnic mosaic, a true mosaic is flat and classless which is very difficult to achieve. Similarly, equal opportunity programmes often have good political aims but they are very difficult to implement and maintain. Moreover, the hyphenated identity commonly used in Canada contradicts the claims that migrants are given equal citizen rights as their Canadian counterparts. The hyphenated identity socially and culturally set apart and 'others' immigrants. In fact, the social stratification of ethnic groups in Canada is generally related to whether they are described as immigrants or Canadian-born. As the sample in the study highlighted, this phenomenon has resulted in the term '*immigrant*' being socially constructed as bearing negative connotations and embodying exclusionary status in Canada. This phenomenon confirms Bissoondath (1994: 213) assertion that heritage identification should be the '*prerogative of the individual*'.

On the socio-cultural level, the findings within this study support Fleras and Elliott's (1996: 348) theoretical conceptualisation of multiculturalism as far as agreeing that multiculturalism in Canada is both 'divisive' and 'regressive' as well as 'ornamental' and 'irrelevant'. It reveals that multiculturalism is 'divisive' and 'regressive' because of not being able to address the 'othering' of immigrants. In fact, it draws attention to how

it encourages such phenomenon by systemically not challenging overt socio-cultural and institutional exclusionary practices. Indeed, the discussions on equal opportunity (Refer to section 3.4 for details) highlight the ineffectiveness of the approach. In the other hand, multiculturalism is 'ornamental' and 'irrelevant' because Canada's perception of national identity still does not allow variations from the Anglo/European ancestry, which means that socio-cultural hegemony is still strong. Therefore, although structural and institutional exclusive practices still exist they are maintained in a covert manner, which is often more difficult to challenge. Therefore, the study draws attention to considering what should be the role of Federal, provincial, and municipal governments in constructing and promoting multiculturalism.

Within this study, in accordance with Bauder (2003) I used Pierre Bourdieu's notion of distinction (1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and his analysis of the educational system as a means of social reproduction to highlight the way in which societal institutions in Canada are socially constructed and maintained through notions of permissible levels of human and social capital. Thus far, evidence available has failed to engage with deeper analysis of how Canada's institutions actively exclude immigrant labour from highly desired occupations and reserve them for Canadian-born and Canadian-educated workers.

The empirical data in the study has proved how employers in Canada have socially and institutionally constructed and necessitated FTP migrants to have a certain level of social capital, (in other words, cultural knowledge of Canada) in order to be permitted to integrate. The data clearly showed how FTP migrants who had been in Canada longer were aware of the cultural differences that influenced labour market entry in Canada. However, Canadian immigration policy has and continues to overlook this phenomenon. Since 1970s, CIC has increased its focus on Independent Class of immigrants and has been selecting migrants merely based on their human capital capacity. Nevertheless, a recent immigration policy amendment has introduced focus on 'transferable skills' and migrants' adaptability potentials. However, yet again the changes have been implemented without setting a clear integration plan and infrastructure to ensure FTP migrants' full social and institutional integration.

There are major difficulties involved in addressing social capital issues when considering immigration and integration, which needs to be appreciated. For instance, within the existing power structure the regulated professional bodies play a direct role in defining acceptable cultural certification. Therefore, setting a national integration infrastructure requires Federal government's full commitment and acceptance of accountability and development of centralised power over regulated professions and administrative overlook of certification, licensing, and employment practices. There is also a need for greater involvement in private industry's HR practices to ensure equality of opportunity for FTP migrants. Moreover, setting-up such infrastructure essentially requires societal and cultural change and acceptance, which cannot happen over night and requires long-term commitment from the Federal government and Canadian political institutions backing to get publics' support in achieving the desired outcome. The above consideration also involves determining what is or should be the role of Federal government in social and institutional integration of FTP migrants? What role, if any, should Canada's diversity model and multiculturalism play in the process? What role should the immigration policy and access and equity policies play? Finally, what role the public and private sector, businesses, and CBO and NGOs play?

Research into the inflow of migrants in smaller urban communities such as London has been very sparse. Therefore, this research contributes in building such greatly needed knowledge base in Canada. It also contributes to the global interest in research into effectiveness of dispersal strategies and draws attention to FTP migrants' general settlement provision needs. The study also highlights the complexity of meeting FTP migrants' integration needs within the secondary cities such as London, Ontario, and explores the nature as well as the extent of the pressure on local services that results from inward migration.

The study also makes valuable methodological contribution. The fieldwork discussions drew attention to the dilemmas raised by my immigrant researcher status and discussed the difficulties I encountered for being positioned both on the '*inside*' and '*outside*' of the immigrant *vs.* Canadian identity whilst conducting this study.

In conclusion, as Mies puts it *"New wine must not be poured into old bottles"*. There are a few lessons that could be learned from this study. Firstly, when considering researching FTP migrants it is important to establish rapport and trust through the communities. Although, FTP migrants may not actively be involved in them, referrals may reassure individuals to consider participation in research and may reduce 'migrant stigma' (Refer to section 6.5.3 for details) noted within the fieldwork. If the researcher is using advertisement or snowball sampling as a method for recruiting participants for what might be considered as sensitive topic, significant time should be allowed for recruitment because of the effort required for networking and establishment of trust. Such methodological considerations may also allow for better control of gender, age, and country of origin balance of the sample. Moreover, although it was not within the remits of this study to explore recent migrants' knowledge of their rights in the host society, the reservations participants expressed regarding authenticity of the research and my involvement in it raises questions regarding the extent to which migrants are prohibited to feel secure about their human rights as other citizens do in Canada. Therefore, there is scope for further research into the extent to which migrants generally experience social and cultural integration in their chosen host society.

Secondly, if the research requires studying migrant women in Western countries the researcher must make a conscious effort to incorporate and accommodate women within the research framework and, for example, consider access to what feminist have regarded as '*women spaces*' (*i.e.* exclusive women groups, organizations, and spheres within the community) to recruit. Although, initially I intended to carryout gender analysis of immigration and integration experiences of FTP migrants this was not possible due to sampling problems and time and resource limitations. However, there may be gender-specific factors that this study was not able to highlight.

Thirdly, a few unique themes were highlighted through the study that worth further exploration. For instance, participants were candid about the impact the lack of professional integration had on their health and family relations. Since, there is not much written on this topic, researching it may further support debates necessitating clear infrastructure to integrate FTP migrants in Canada or other

migrant receiving country. Moreover, since the absorptive capacity of Canada is one of the least analysed aspects of the immigration policy, most of what we know is based on anecdotal facts. Therefore, more in depth research into this topic would assist in setting a more effective immigration policy that would consider integration.

The review of the literature emphasised the way in which the Canadian labour market and economy at the time of entry influences the extent to which FTP migrants experience employment barriers [Refer to section 2.4.4]. Such analysis was beyond the remit of this study; however, more in depth analysis of the labour market is necessary in order to gain a better understanding of the employment barriers migrants experience in Canada and ways of overcoming them. Furthermore, *Maytree Foundation Forum* (2001: 10) emphasised that governments' immigrant dispersal strategy through PNP has not been widely used by migrants (Refer to section 1.3 and 4.3.3 for details about the programme). Since the programme offers faster application processing than immigration under Independent Class and even offers migrants the potential of being matched with appropriate occupation, it is worth exploring why FTP migrants are not taking advantage of this programme. It is also worth investigating whether there has been any pilot projects designed to attract and integrate FTP migrants nationally and internationally that have been successful. Lastly, since Bill C-11 transpired during the course of this study, it was not possible to explore the impact of the amendments to the points-based immigration policy; therefore there is scope in doing further research into the way in which the new selection approach is effecting FTP migrants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, M. G. and Beach, C. M. (1993) Immigrant Earnings Differentials and Birth-year Effects for Men in Canada Post-war 1972, *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 25, 505-524.

Abrahamson, M. (1983) Social Research Methods, Eaglewood, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Abu-Laban, Y. (1998) Welcome/Stay Out: The Contradiction of Canadian Integration and Immigration Policies at the Millenium, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 30, 190-211.

Abu-Laban, Y. and Stasiulis, D. (1992) Ethnic Pluralism Under Siege: Popular and Partisan Opposition to Multiculturalism, *Canadian Public Policy,* XVIII, 4, 365-386.

Adelman, H. (2002) "The New Immigration Regulation", (http://www.yorku.ca/crs/Publications/OCEP%20PDFs/regulations.12.01.final.art2.doc, date accessed 23/05/06).

_____(2001) Values and State Control of Migrants: The Case of Canada *in* Immigration Policy: A Search for Balance in Europe (*Ed.*, Schmid, A. P.) Driebergen: The Netherlands Synthesis Foundation, pp. 65-94.

Adler, P. A. and Adler, P. (1997) Parents as researcher: The Politics of researching in the personal life *in* Reflexivity and Voice (*Ed.*, Hertz, R.), Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage Publication, pp. 21-44.

Agnes, M. E. (2004) Webster New Worl College Dictionary, Fourth Edition, New York: MacMillan.

Akbari, A. H. (1999) Immigrant 'Quality' in Canada: More direct evidence of human capital content, 1956-1994, *International Migration Review,* 33, 1, 156-175.

Alba, R. and Nee, V. (1997) Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration, *International Migration Review,* 31, 826-874.

Alboim, N. (2002) Fulfilling the Promise: Integrating Immigrant Skills into the Canadian Economy, *The Maytree Foundation*, Caledon Institute of Social Policy, April, 2002.

_____ (2003) Integrating Immigrant Skills into the Ontario Economy: A Ten Point Plan, Toronto: *The Maytree Foundation*, October 2003, (www.maytree.com/PDF_Files/premierLetter.pdf, accessed date 14/02/07).

Alibhai-Brown, Y. (2004) Beyond Multiculturalism, *Canadian Diversity/Diversité Canadienne,* 3, 2, 51-54.

Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* New York: Verso.

Anderssen, E. and Alphonso, C. (2003) Immigrants Losing Ground on Income, *The Globe and Mail (Canada)*, March 12, 2003: A6.

Alba, R. (2005) Bright *vs.* Blurred Boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 1, 20-49.

Anthias, F. and Yuval-Davis, N. (1992) Racialized Boundaries, London: Routledge.

Aroian, K. J., Norris, A. E., and Chiang, L. (2003) Gender differences in psychological distress among immigrants from the former Soviet Union, *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, Jan. 2003, (http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2294/is_2003_Jan/ai_99326298, accessed date 14/02/07).

Arulampalam, W., Gregg, P., and Gregory, M. (2001) Unemployment Scarring, *The Economic Journal,* 111, 577-584.

Askham, J. (1982) Telling Stories, *Sociological Review,* 30, 555-573.

Atley, A. and Rodham, K. (1998) Pearls, Pith and Provocation. The Ouch! Factor: Problems in Conducting Sensitive Research, *Qualitative Health Research,* 8, 275-282.

Aycan, Z. and Berry, J. W. (1996) Impact of Employment-related Experiences on Psychological Well-being and Adaptation of Immigrants, *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science Special Issue on Ethnic Relations in a Multicultural Society,* 28, 3, 240-251.

Aydemir, A. and Skuterud, M. (2005) Explaining the Deteriorating Entry Earnings of Canada's Immigrant Cohorts: 1966-2000, *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 38, 641-72.

Badets, J. and Howatson-Leo, L. (1999) Recent Immigrants in the Workforce, *Canadian Social Trends,* 52, 16-22.

Bakan, A. B. and Kobayashi, A. (2003) "Ontario: Lessons of the Rise and Fall of Employment Equity Legislation from the Perspective of Rights Advocacy", March 2003, *Canadian Race Relations Foundation* Reports.

Baker, M. and Benjamin, D. (1995a) The Receipt of Transfer Payments by Immigrants to Canada, *The Journal of Human Resources,* 30, 650-677.

_____ (1995b) Labour Market Outcomes and The Participation of Immigrant Women in Canadian Transfer Programs *in* Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy (*Ed.*, DeVoretz, D. J.), Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Baker, M. and Dwayne, B. (1994) The Performance of Immigrants in the Canadian Labour Market, *Journal of Labor Economics,* 12, 3, 369-405.

Balakrishnan, T. R. (1991) "Immigration and Urban Development", A talk given to the *Institute of Public Administration* 1991 Conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, August 25-28, 1991.

Balakrishnan, T. R. and Jianhua, R. (1997) "Language Maintenance Among Selected Immigrant Groups in Canada 1971-1991", Paper presented at the annual meetings of the *Canadian Population Society*, St.John's, Newfoundland, Canada, June 9-11, 1997.

Bank of Montreal Economic Department (2000) "The London Region Economy: Transforming to Meet the Challenges of the New Millennium", April 2000, London, Ont.: Bank of Montreal.

Bank of Montreal Regional Outlook (2002) "The London Regional Economy: Transforming to Meet the Challenges of the Millennium", April 2002, Bank of Montreal, Economics Department, (http://www.bmo.com/economic/special/london.pdf, accessed date 19/11/04).

Barbour, R., Barnard, M., and Kitzinger, J. (1993) Who Wears the Trousers? Sexual Harassment in Research Settings, *Women's Studies International Forum,* 16, 627-637.

Basaran, G. S. and Zong, L. (1998) Devaluation of Foreign Credentials As Perceived by Visible Minority Professional Immigrants, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 30, 3, 6-25.

Bateson, M. C. (1990) Composing a Life, New York: Plume.

Baubock, R. (2002) How Migration Transforms Citizenship: International, Multinational and Transnational Perspectives, *IWE- Working Paper Series,* Paper presented at the Symposium on Immigration Policies in Europe and the Mediterranean organised by the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and the Institut Catala de la Mediterrania, Barcelona, 30 January-2 February 2002, 24, 1-28.

Bauder, H. (2003) 'Brain Abuse' or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada, *Antipode,* 35, 4, 699-717.

_____ (2002) Segmentation and The Cultural Judgement of Labour. Paper presented at the *98th Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers*, Los Angeles, CA, 19–23 March 2002.

Bauder, H. and Cameron, E. (2002) "Cultural Barriers to Labour Market Integration: Immigrants from South Asia and the Former Yugoslavia", Vancouver, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis (RIIM).

Bauer, T. and Zimmermann, K. F. (1998) Causes of International Migration: A Survey *in* Crossing Borders: Regional and urban perspectives on international migration (*Eds*. Gorter, C., Nijkamp, P., and Poot, J.) Ashgate: Aldershot, 95-127.

Bauer, T. K., Lofstrom, M., and Zimmermann, K. F. (2001) "Immigration Policy, Assimilation of Immigrants, and Natives' Sentiments Towards Immigrants: Evidence from 12 OECD Countries", April 2001, Working Paper 33, San Diego, Ca., USA: *The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies* (CCIS), University of California (http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg33.pdf, accessed date 12/01/06).

Baylis, J. and Smith, S. (2001) The Globalisation of World Politics: An introduction to international relations, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beach, C. M., Green, A. G., and Reitz, J. G. (2003) "Canadian Immigration Policy for the 21st Century", Kingston, Ont., Ca.: *John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy*, published in collaboration with McGill-Queen's University Press.

Beachesene, E. (2003) Immigrants Taking Longer to Find Jobs, Study Says, *National Post*, August 25, 2003.

Beaujot, R. (1991) Population Change in Canada: The challenges of policy adaptation, Toronto: Oxford.

_____ (1998) "Immigration and Canadian Demographics: State of the Research", Discussion Paper No. 98-11, Prepared for strategic Policy, Planning and Research, May 1998, *Citizenship and Immigration Canada.*

Beaujot, R. and Matthews, D. (2000) "Immigration and the Future of Canada's Population", January, 2000, Discussion Paper no. 00-1, Population Studies Centre, London, Ont., Ca.: University of Western Ontario. (www.sscl.uwo.ca/sociology/popstudies/dp/dpOO-1.pdf, accessed date 09/11/06).

Beaujot, R., Maxim, P., and Zhao, J. (1994) Self-employment Among Immigrants: A Test of the Blocked Mobility Hypothesis, *Canadian Studies in Population,* 21, 2, 81–96.

Beaujot, R. and Pappak, J. P. (1988) "The Role of Immigration in Changing Socio-economic Structures", London, Ont., Ca.: *Population Studies Centre*, University of Western Ontario.

Beaujot, R. and Zhang, J. (1997) "The Labour Market Transition Experience of the Jobless in Canada? Find a Job or be Your Own Boss?" December 1997, Discussion Paper No. 97-12, London, Ont., Ca.: *Population Studies Centre*, University of Western Ontario.

_____ (1997) "Determinants of Re-employment Probability in Canada: Competing Risk Analysis Between Full-time and Part-time Employment", *Paper presented at the Canadian Population Studies (CPS) Conference*, St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada, June 9-11, 1997.

Beck, H. J., Reitz, J. G., and Weiner, N. (2002) Addressing Systemic Racial Discrimination in Employment: The Health Canada Case and Implications of Legislative Change, *Canadian Public Policy*, 28, 3, 373-394.

Becker, G. S. (1964) Human Capital, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Beiser, M. (1988) Influences of Time, Ethnicity, and Attachment on Depression in Southeast Asian Refugees, *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 145, 46-51.

_____ (1999) Strangers at the Gate: The "Boat People's" First Ten Years in Canada, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Beiser, M., Barwick, C., and Berry, J. W. (1988) Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.

Beiser, M., Dion, R., and Gotowiec, A. (1995) Immigrant and Refugee Children in Canada, *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry,* 40, 67-72.

Beiser, M., Johnoson, P., and Turner, R. J. (1993) Unemployment, Underemployment and Depressive Affect Among Southeast Asian Refugees, *Psychological Medicine,* 23, 731–743.

Belanger, J. (2003) "Seeking a Remedy", *London Free Press*, London, Ontario, May 12, 2003.

Bell, D., Caplan, P., and Karim, W. J. (1993) Gendered Fields: Women, Men and Ethnography, London: Routledge.

Berik, G. (1996) Understanding the Gender Syatem in Rural Turkey: Fieldwork dilemmas of conformity and intervention *in* Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork (*Ed.*, Wolf, D.), Colorado: Westview Press, 56-71.

Bernstein, J. H. (2000) The Professional Self-evaluation of Immigrant Physicians From the Former Soviet Union in Israel, *Journal of Immigrant Health,* 2, 4, 183-190.

Bernstein, J. H. and Shuval, J. T. (1997) Immigrant Physicians: Former Soviet Doctors in Israel, Canada, and the United States, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Berry, J. W. (2006) "Fitting In: A place for immigrant teens in Canadian society", *The Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (CFHSS), Breakfast on the Hill seminar series, 23/11/06 (www.fedcan.ca/english/pdf/advocacy/fitting%20in.pdf, accessed date 01/02/07).

_____ (1998) Acculturative Stress *in* Readings in Ethnic Psychology (*Eds*., Organista, P. B. and Chun, K. M.), New York: Routledge.

_____ (1997) Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation, *Applied Psychology: An International Review,* 46, 5–34.

_____ (1992) Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society, *International Migration Quarterly Review,* 30, 69 - 87.

Berry, J. W. and Kalin, R. (1995) Multicultural and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada: An overview of the 1991 National Survey, *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science,* 27, 3, 301-320.

Berry, J. W., Kalin, R., and Taylor, D. (1977) Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada, Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

Berry, J. W. and Kim, U. (1988) Acculturation and Mental Health *in* Health and Cross-cultural Psychology: Towards applications (*Eds*., Dasen, P. R., Berry, J. W., and Sartorius, N.) London: Sage, 207–236.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Minde, T., and Mok, D. (1987) Comparative Studies of Acculturative Stress, *International Migration Review,* 21, 491 - 511.

Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., and Dasen, P. R. (1992) Cross-cultural psychology: research and applications, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bertaux, D. (1997) Transmission in Extreme Situations: Russian families expropriated by the October revolution *in* Pathways to Social Class (*Eds*., Bertaux, D. and Thompson, P.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 230-258.

Bertaux-Wiame, I. (1981) The Life-history Approach to the Study of Internal Migration *in* Biography and Society (*Ed*., Bertaux, D.) Sage, Thousand Oaks, 249-265.

Beshiri, R. and Alfred, E. (2002) "Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin: Immigrants in Rural Canada", catalogue n. 21-0006-XIE, *Statistic Canada.*

Bhopal, K. (1995) Women and Feminist as Subjects of Black Study: The difficulties and dilemmas of carrying out research, *Journal of Gender Studies,* 4, 153-168.

Bhugra, D. (2004) Migration and Mental Health, *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica,* 109, 243-258.

Bibby, R. W. (1990) Mosaic Madness: The poverty and potential of life in Canada, Stoddart, Toronto: Stoddart.

Bielby, D. (1992) Commitment to Work and Family, *Annual Reviews,* 18, 281-302.

Birch, M. (1998) Re/constructing Research Narratives: Self and sociological identity in alternative settings *in* Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research Public Knowledge and Private Lives (*Eds*., Ribbens, J. and Edwards, R.), London: Sage.

Bissoondath, N. (1994) Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada, Toronto: Penguine Books.

Blair, M. (1995) 'Race', Class and Gender in School Research *in* Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy (*Eds*., Holland, J. and Blair, M.), Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 248-261.

Blaxter, L., Hughes, C., and Tight, M. (1996) How to Research, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bloom, D. E., Grenier, G., and Gunderson, M. (1995) The Changing Labour Market Position of Canadian Immigrants, *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 28, 4, 987-1005.

Bloom, D. E. and Gunderson, M. (1991) An Analysis of the Earnings of Canadian Immigrants *in* Immigration, Trade and the Labour Market (*Eds*., Abowd, J. M. and Freeman, R. B.), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bloom, M. and Grant, M. (2001) "Brain Gain: The Economic Benefits of Recognizing Learning and Learning Credentials in Canada", Ottawa: *The Conference Board of Canada* (http://www.conferenceboard.ca/press/documents/Brain_Gain_Detailed_Findings.pdf, accessed date 15/02/04).

Boatswain, S. J. and Lalonde, R. N. (2000) Social Identity and Preferred Ethnic/racial Labels for Blacks in Canada, *Journal of Black Psychology,* 26, 216-234.

Borjas, G., J. (1986) The Self-employment Experience of Immigrants, *Journal of Human Resources,* 21, 485-506.

_____ (1990) Friends or Strangers: The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy, New York: Basic Books.

_____ (1991) Immigration and Self-selection *in* Immigration, Trade and the Labour Market (*Eds*., Abowd, J. M. and Freeman, R. B.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

_____ (1993) Immigration Policy, National Origin and Immigrant Skills: A comparison of Canada and the United States *in* Small Differences That Matter (*Eds*., Card, D. and Freeman, R. B.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1-20.

Boud, D., Keogh, R. and Walker, D. (1985) Reflection: Turning experience into learning, London: Kogan Page.

Bourdieu, P. (1979) Symbolic Power, *Critique of Anthropology,* 13, 14, 77-85.

_____ (1984) Distinction, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

_____ (1986) The Forms of Capital *in* Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education (*Ed.*, Richardson, J. G.), New York: Greenwood Press, 241-258.

_____ (1987) What Makes a Social Class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology,* XXXII, 1-16.

_____ (1989) Social Space and Symbolic Power, *Sociological Theory,* 7, 1 (Spring), 14-25.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C. (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, London: Sage.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992) An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boyd, M. (2005) Immigration, Internal Migration and the Distribution of Canada's Population, Presented to the Population Change and Public Policy SSHRC cluster workshop, February 3-4, 2005, London, Ontario, www.ssc.uwo.ca/sociology/popchange/Boyd,%20Planning%20Workshop2.pdf, accessed date 22/02/06).

_____ (2002) Educational Attainment of Immigrants' Offspring: Success or segmented assimilation, *International Migration Review*, 36(4): 1037-1060.

_____ (2001) Blurring The Line? Economic Attainment of Highly Educated Humanitarian Immigrants, Paper presented at the meetings of the *Federation of Canadian Demographers*, Ottawa, Canada, December 2001.

_____ (2000) "Matching Workers to Work: The Case of Asian Immigrant Engineers in Canada", May 2000, Working paper No. 14, San Diego: *The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies* (CCIS), University of California (http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg14.PDF, accessed date 22/02/06)

Boyd, M. and Thomas, D. (2001) Match or Mismatch? The employment of immigrant engineers in Canada's labor force, *Population Research and Policy Review,* 20, 107-133.

Boyd, M. and Vickers, M. (2000) One Hundred Years of Immigration, *Canadian Social Trends,* 58, 2-12.

Brannen, J. (1988) Research Note: The study of sensitive topics, *Sociological Review,* 36, 552-563.

Breton, R. (1984) Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and Personal Relations to Immigrants, *American Journal of Sociology,* 70, 193–205.

_____ (1986) Multiculturalism and Canadian Nation-building *in* The Politics of Gender, Ethnicity and Language in Canada (*Eds*., Cairns, A. and Williams, C.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 27-66.

Breton, R., Isajiw, W. W., Kalbach, M. A., and Reitz, J. (1990) Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Brotman, S. (1998) The Incidence of Poverty Among Seniors in Canada: Exploring the impact of gender, ethnicity and race, *Canadian Journal on Ageing,* 17, 2, 166-185.

Brouwer, A. (1999) "Immigrants Need Not Apply", October 1999, Ottawa, *Caledon Institute of Social Policy* and *The Maytree Foundation.*

_____ (2000) "Student Loans for Convention Refugees in Limbo", Student Loans for Convention Refugees in Limbo, Toronto: *The Maytree Foundation.*

Brubaker, R. (1992) Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany, *European Universities Association* (EUA), Harvard University Press.

Bryman, A. (2001) Social Research Methods, Open University Press.

Bulmer, M. (1982) Social Research Ethics: An Examination of the Merits of Covert Participant Observation, New York: Holmes and Meier.

Business and Labour Market Analysis Division (http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/statcan/trends_conditions_89-613-e/2004/003/89-613-MIE2004003.pdf, accessed date 02/04/07).

Buttler, J. (1997) Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative, London: Routledge.

_____ (1990) Gender Trouble: Feminist and the Subversion of Identity, London: Routledge.

Cain, M. and Finch, J. (1981) Towards a Rehabilitation of Data *in* Practice and Progress: British Sociology, 1950-1980 (*Eds*., Abrahams, P. *et. al.*) Allen and Unwin.

Campbell, E. (2003) Interviewing Men in Uniform: A feminist approach? *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 6, 4, 285-304.

Canadian Architectural Certification Board (2003) Request for Assessment of Academic Qualifications, Ottawa (http://cacb.ca/uocumentva2_canadian.pdf, accessed date 15/06/04).

Canadian Council for Refugees (1998) "Best Settlement Practices: Settlement Services for Refugees and Immigrants in Canada", February 1998, Montréal, Quebec: Canadian Council for Refugees, (http://www.web.net/~ccr/bpfina1.htm, accessed date 18/03/05).

Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (2004), Information on Access to Occupations in Canada (http://www.cicic.ca/professions/indexe.st, accessed date 15/06/04).

Canadian Labour and Business Centre (2004) Moving Forward: A strategy for the integration of internationally trained workers in Ottawa, Draft Paper, February 2004.

_____ (2002) "Viewpoints 2002: The Perspective of Business, Labour and Public Sector Leaders- Skills and Skill Shortages", spring 2002, Ottawa, Ont.: *Canadian Labour and Business Centre*.

Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (1998) "After The Door Has Been Opened", Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

Carballo, M. (1994) "Scientific Consultation on The Social and Health Impact of Migration: Priorities for research", Geneva: *International Organisation for Migration*.

Carens, J. (1996) Dimensions of Citizenship and National Identity in Canada, *The Philosophical Forum,* XXVIII, 1-2, 111-23.

_____ (2000) Culture, Community and Citizenship: A Contextual Exploration of Justice as Evenhandedness, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carr, D. (1999) "Unfulfilled Careeer Aspirations and Psychological Well-being", Report No. 99-432, Ann Arbor, MI, USA: Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.

Carter, J. (2003) Ethnicity, Exclusion and the Workplace, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Castles, S. and Miller, MJ (2003) The age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, London: Guilford Press.

Castles, S. (2000) International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century: Global trends and issues, *International Social Science Journal,* 52, 165, 269-281.

Castles, S. (1997) "Globalisation and Migration Some Pressing Contradictions", Paris, France, Keynote Address, UNESCO-MOST Intergovernmental Council, (http://www.unesco.org/most/igc97cas.htm, accessed date 26/03/07).

Castles, S. and Davidson, A. (2000) Citizenship and Migration: Globalisation and the Politics of Belonging, New York: Routledge.

Castles, S. and Kosack, G. (1975) Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe, London: Oxford University Press.

Castles, S. and Miller, M. J. (2003) The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cavanagh, K. and Cree, V. (1996) Working with Men: Feminism and Social Work, London: Routledge.

Centre for Higher Education Research and Information (CHERI) (2002) "Access to What? How to convert educational opportunity into employment opportunity for groups from disadvantaged backgrounds" (http://www.staffs.ac.uk/institutes/access/docs/Event7JB2.doc, accessed date 27/03/07).

Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (2003) "Voices for Change: Making Use of Immigrant Skills to Strengthen the City of London", October 2003, Kitchener, Ont. : Department of Canadian Heritage, Centre for Research and Education in Human Services, (http://www.crehs.on.ca/downloads/Voices_London.pdf, 09/10/04).

Chan, K. B. (1992) Ethnic Resources, Opportunity Structure and Coping Strategies: Chinese business in Canada, *Revue Europeene des Migrations Internationales,* 8, 117-36.

Charmaz, K. (2000) Grounded Theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods *in* Handbook of Qualitative Research (*Eds.*, Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S.) Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage Publications, 509-535.

_____ (1990) 'Discovering' Chronic Illness: Using grounded theory, *Social Science and Medicine,* 30, 1161-1172.

Charmaz, K. and Mitchell, R. G. J. (1997) The Myth of Silent Authorship: Self, substance and style in ethnographic writing *in* Reflexivity and Voice (*Ed.*, Hertz, R.) Thousand Oakes, Ca.: Sage Publications, 193-215.

Chen, H., Marks, M. and Bersani, C. (1994) Unemployment Classifications and Subjective Well-being, *Sociological Review,* 42, 62-78.

Chen, J., Ng, E. and Wilkins, R. (1995) "Life expectancy and health expectancy of Canadian immigrants from 1986 to 1991" *in* Immigration and Life Expectancy in Canada, Catalogue: 89F0084XPE, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 9-22.

Chief Administrative Officer (2000) "In Common Cause: Cities Dialogue on Immigrant and Refugee Issues in Canada", Toronto: Chief Administrator's Office.

Chiswick, B. R. (2000) Are Immigrants Favourably Self-selected? An economic analysis *in* Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines (*Eds.*, Brettell, C. B. and Hollifield, J. F.), New York & London: Routledge.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

_____ (2002) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/anrep02.html#plan, accessed date 15/02/07).

_____ *Facts and Figures* (2005) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

_____ (2003) "*Facts and Figures* 2002", Catalogue no. MP43-333/2003E, Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

_____ (2003) "Immigrant Occupations: Recent Trends and Issues", September 2003, Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, (www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/occupations/occupations-toc.html, accessed date 08/10/05).

_____ (2002) "Pursuing Canada's Commitment to Immigration", The Immigration Plan for 2002 (http://www.cic.gc.ca/English/pub/anrep02.html#legislative, accessed date 08/03/04).

_____ (2001a) "Towards a More Balanced Geographic Distribution of Immigrants", Ottawa: Produced by Strategic Policy, Planning and Research, Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada. This study was prepared by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, with the Assistance of Informetrica Limited, 01/05/2001, (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/research/papers/geographic/geographic-toc.html, accessed date 02/09/06).

_____Reformed Policies and Revised Bill, 2001 (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/about/policy/deck/sld003.htm, accessed date, 01/07/03).

_____ (2001b) "Pursuing Canada's Commitment to Immigration: The Immigration Plan for 2002", Ottawa: *Public Works and Government Services Canada.*

_____ (2001c) "Immigration Policy and Practice in Canada: Program of Migration and Diversity", Metropolis Institute and Ontario Administration of Settlement and Integration Services.

_____ (1998) "Building on a Strong Foundation for the 21st Century: New directions for immigration and refugee policy and legislation", Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, (www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/index.html, accessed date 21/06/04).

_____ (1997) "Not Just Numbers: A Canadian Framework for Future Immigration", Ottawa: The Immigration Legislative Review: *Public Works and Government Services Canada,* (www.cic.gc.ca/English/about/policv/1rag/emain.html, accessed date 05/06/01)

_____ (1995) Canada Changes Immigration Criteria for Skilled Workers, *New Release,* November 17, 1995.

_____(1994) "Into the 21st Century: A strategy for Immigration and Citizenship", Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Clayton Research Associates Limited (2006) "Employment, Population, Housing and Non-Residential Construction Projections, City of London, Ontario 2006 Update", September 29, 2006, Clayton Research: Toronto, Ontario (http://www.london.ca/Planning/OfficialPlanReview/ClaytonReport.pdf, accessed date 01/04/07).

Clement, W. (1975) The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. E. (1986) Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cobb-Clark, A. D. and Connolly, D. M. (1997) The World-wide Market for Skilled Migrants: Can Australia compete, *International Migration Review,* 31, 3, 670-693.

Coffey, A. (1999) The Ethnographic Self: Fieldwork and the Representation of Identity, London: Sage.

Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) Making Sense of Qualitative Data Analysis: Complementary Strategies, Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage.

Cohen, S. and Taylor, L. (1977) Escape Attempts: The theory and practice of resistance to everyday life, London: Allen Lane.

Collacott, M. (2001a) "Canada Is a Great Country for Refugees", *National Post*, 4 August, 2001.

_____ (2001b) "We're Not Ready for an Open-Door Policy", *National Post*, 8 June, 2001.

Collins, R. (1979) The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification, New York: Academic Press.

Commissioner of Community and Neighbourhood Services (2001) "Immigration and Settlement Policy Framework", Toronto: City of Toronto.

Cooper, D., Lowe, A., Puxty, A., Robson, K., and Willmott, H. (1988), Regulating the UK Accountancy Profession: Episodes in the relation between the profession and the state, Paper presented at ESRC Conference on Corporatism at the *Policy Studies Institute*, London, UK, January 1988.

Cornish, M., McIntyre, E., and Pask, A. (2001) Strategies for Challenging Discriminatory Barriers to Foreign Credential Recognition, *Canadian Labour and Employment Law Journal,* 8, 17-53, http://www.cavalluzzo.com/publications/newsletters/access_website.PDF, accessed date 30/08/03).

Cox, D. (1985) Welfare Services for Migrants: Can they be better planned? *International Migration,* 23, 73-95.

Creese, G. (1998) "Government Restructuring and Immigrant/Refugee Settlement Work: Bringing Advocacy Back in", Working Paper Series, Vancouver, BC, Ca.: Vancouver Centre for Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis (RIIM).

Creswell, J. W. (1998) Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

_____(1997) Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Cheating Among Five Traditions, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Cullingworth, J. (2003) 'Chronology of Access to Professions and Trades Initiatives and Efforts in Ontario', Toronto, Ont.: Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades (PROMPT) *cited in* "Making Use of Immigrant Skills: A Brief Summary Of The Need For Immigrant Skills", *Centre for Research and Education in Human Services*, P.2, http://www.crehs.on.ca/downloads/Waterloo_market_scan.pdf, accessed date 18/09/05.

Currie, D. and Kasi, H. (1987) Academic Feminism and the Process of De-radicalization: Re-examining the issues, *Feminist Review,* 25, 77-98.

Curtis, J., Grabb, E. and Guppy, N. (1993) Social Inequality in Canada: Patterns, Problems, Policies, Scarborough, Ont., Ca.: Prentice-Hall.

Cylwik, H. (2001) Notes From the Field: Emotions of place in the production and interpretation of text, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 4, 3, 243-250.

Darchman, D. and Halberstadt, A. (1992) A Stage of Migration Framework As Applied to Recent Soviet Emigrants *in* Social Work with Immigrants and Refugees (*Ed.*, Ryan, A. S.), New York: The Hayworth Press, 63-75.

Darroch, A. G. (1979) Another Look at Ethnicity, Stratification and Social Mobility in Canada, *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* 4, 1, 1-25.

Das Gupta, T. (1994) Political Economy of Gender, Race and Class: Looking at South Asian Immigrant Women in Canada, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 26 , 1, 59–74.

Dauphinee, D. (2002) "Lack of doctors sparks economic repercussions", *London Free Press*, London, Ontario, Canada, February 4, 2002.

Davila, A., Bohara, A. K. and Saenz, R. (1993) Accent Penalties and the Earnings of Mexican Americans, *Social Science Quarterly,* 74, 902-916.

De Jong, G.F. and Fawcett, J. 1981. "Multidisciplinary frameworks and models of migration decision making" *in* Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary approaches to micro level studies in developed and developing countries (*Eds.*, De Jong, G.F. and R.W. Gardner), New York: Pergamon Press, 13-58.

De Jong and R.W. Gardner (1981) Migration decision making: multidisciplinary approaches to micro level studies in developed and developing countries, New York: Pergamon Press.

Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (1994) Handbook of Qualitative Research, London: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. (1997) Interpretive Ethnography, California: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (2000) The Handbook of Qualitative Research, California: Thousand Oaks.

Department of Canadian Heritage (2002) "What is the Immigration Accreditation Picture in Canada?" Ottawa, Canada. (http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/societal/picture_e.cfm, accessed date 15/10/04).

Department of Community Services, The Corporation of the City of London (2004), "Looking at our Quality of Life in London: Incomes, Shelter & Necessities", November, 2004, Issues Report #1: Local fact sheets part 2 of 4, London, Ont.: Federation of Canadian Municipalities, Quality of Life Reporting System, (http://www.london.ca/ResearchStatistics/local_research/QoL_IncomeShelterandNecessities_LocalFactSheets.pdf , accessed date 28/11/06).

Department of Community Services, The Corporation of the City of London (1999), "Profile of London's Neighbourhoods", Profile of London's Neighbourhoods, December, 1999, London, Ont.: Planning and Policy Division.

DeSilva, A. (1997a) Earnings of Immigrant Classes in the Early 1980s in Canada: A Re-examination, *Canadian Public Policy,* 23, 2, 179-202.

_____ (1997b) Immigrant Participation in the unemployment insurance system, *Canadian Public Policy,* 23, 375-397.

Desjarlais, R. *et. al.* (1995) World Mental Health: Problems and Priorities in Low-Income Countries, New York: Oxford University Press.

DeVault, M. L. (1997) Personal Writing in Social Research: Issues of production and interpretation *in* Reflexivity and Voice (*Ed.*, Hertz, R.) Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 216-228.

DeVoretz, D. (1995) New Issues, New Evidence and New Immigration Policies for the Twenty-First Century, Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

DeVoretz, D. J. and Laryea, S. A. (1999) "Canadian Immigration Experience: Any Lessons for Europe?" No. 59, Bonn: IZA Discussion Paper.

Di Biase, S. and Bauder, H. (2004) "Immigrants in Ontario: Linking Spatial Settlement Patterns and Labour Force Characteristics", University of Guelph, (www.uoguelph.ca/geography/research/ffw/papers/Settlement%20in%20Ontario_report.pdf, accessed date 07/11/06).

DiMaggio, P. and Powell, W.W. (1991) 'The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organization fields,' *in* The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis (*Eds*. Powell, W. W. and DiMaggio, P.), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 63-83.

Dion, K. L. (1996) Acculturation and Immigration: Social Psychological Perspectives *in* Diversity with Justice and Harmony: A social Psychological Analysis (*Ed.*, Taylor, D. M.) Prepared by McGill University for Strategic Policy, Planning and Research and Metropolis Project, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, June 1996 (http://canada.metropolis.net/research-policy/litreviews/tylr_rev/tylr_rev-01.html, accessed date 20/04/01).

_____ (2002a) "Perceptions of Personal and Group Discrimination Among Members of Six Ethnic Groups in Toronto", Toronto: University of Toronto.

_____ (2002b) Prejudice, Racism, and Discrimination *in* Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 5 (*Ed.*, Leraer, M. J.), New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Dion, K. L. and Kawakami, K. (1996) Ethnicity and Perceived Discromination in Toronto: Another look at personal/group discrimination discrepancy, *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science,* 28, 203-213.

Dreier, P. and Bernard, E. (1992) Canada: A kinder, gentler nation, *Social Policy*, summer, 6-19.

Driedger, L. (1989) Class and Economic Status *in* The Ethnic Factor (*Ed.* Driedger, L.) Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 259–92.

_____ (1996) Multi-Ethnic Canada, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Driedger, L. and Reid, A. (2000) *in* Race and Racism Canada's Challenge (*Eds*. Driedger, L. and Halli, S. S.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Driedger, U. and Halli, S. S. (2000) The Race Challenge 2000 *in* Race and Racism: Canada's Challenge (*Eds*. Driedger, L. and Halli, S. S.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Dufy, K. (1995) Social Exclusion and Human Dignity in Europe, Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Duleep, H. and Regets, M. (1997) The Decline in Immigrant Entry Earnings: Less transferable skills or lower ability? *Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance,* 37, spring: Special issue on immigration.

Dunn, J. R. and Dyck, I. (2000) Social Determinants of Health in Canada's Immigrant population: Results from the National Population Health Survey, *Social Science and Medicine,* 51, 1573-93.

Dye, T. R. (1976) Policy Analysis: What governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes, Alabama, USA: University of Alabama Press.

Economic Council of Canada (1991) "New Faces in the Crowd: Economic and Social Impacts of Immigration", Study No. 22-171, Ottawa: *Economic Council of Canada.*

Edelman, M. (1971) Politics as Symbolic Action, Chicago, Ill: Markham.

_____ (1964) The Symbolic Uses of Politics, Urbana, IL, USA: University of Illinois Press.

Egharevba, I. (2001) Researching An-'other' Minority Ethnic Community: Reflections of a black female researcher on the intersections of race, gender and other power positions on the research process, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 4, 3, 225-241.

Eisenstein, Z. (1996) *Hatreds: Racialized and Sexualized Conflicts in the 21st Century,* London: Routledge.

Eisner, E. W. (1991) The Enlightened Eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice, New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing.

El-Hourani, M. H. (2002) "Internationally Trained Professionals: Environmental Scan of Services", July 8, 2002, London, Ont.: The Elgin, Middlesex, Oxford Local Training Board.

Elizabeth, K. (1998) "Devolution of Social Programs and Spending Cuts: Impact on immigrants and refugees", July 10, 1998, Research paper #9, Canadian Labour Congress, (http://action.web.ca/home/clcpolcy/attach/rp9.pdf, accessed date 30/09/01).

Elmi, S. A. (1999) "A Study on the Mental Health Needs of the Somali Community in Toronto", September 1999, Toronto: York Community Services and Rexdale Community Health Care.

Erickson, B. (1996) Networks, Success and Class Structure: A total view *in ASA Annual Meeting,* New York, August 16-20.

Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M. and Armstrong, T. L. (2001) The Immigration Dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice, and national identity, *Journal of Social Issues,* 57, 3, 389-412.

Esses, V. M., Jackson, L. M. and Armstrong, T. L. (1998) Intergroup Competition and Attitudes Towards Immigrants and Immigration: An instrumental model of group conflict, *Journal of Social Issues,* 54, 699-724.

Esses, V. M., Jackson, L. M., Nolan, J. M. and Armstrong, T. L. (1999) Economic Threat and Attitudes Towards Immigrants *in* Immigration Canada: Demographic, Economic and Social Challenges (*Eds.* Halli, S. and Driedger, L.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 212-229.

Facts and Figures (2005), CIC (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

Fagnan, S. (1995) Canadian Immigrant Earnings, 1971-1986 *in* Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy (*Ed.*, DeVoretz, D. J.), Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Feather, N. T. (1990) Bridging the Gap Between Values and Actions: Recent applications of the expectancy-value model *in* Handbook of motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior (*Eds.*, Higgins, E. T. and Sorrention, R. M.) New York: Guilford Press, 51-192.

Feldman, M. and March, J. (1981) Information as Signal and Symbol, *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 26, 171-186.

Ferrer, A. M. and Riddell, C. W. (2002) The Role of Credential in the Canadian Labour Market, *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 35, 4, 879-905.

Ferrer, A. M. and Riddell, C. W. (2002) Educational Credentials and Immigrant Assimilation, University of British Columbia Department of Economics Working Paper.

Finch, J. (1984) 'It's Great to Have Someone to Talk to': The ethics and politics of interviewing women *in* Social Researching: Politics, Problems and Practice (*Eds.*, Bell, C. and Roberts, H.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 70-87.

_____ (1986) Research and Policy: The Uses of Qualitative Methods in Social and Educational Research, London: The Falmer Press.

Finnie, R. (2001) "The Brain Drain: Myth and Reality-What it is and What Should be Done", Working Paper 13, Kingston: Queens University.

Finnie, R. and Meng, R. (2002) "Are Immigrants' Human Capital Skills Discounted in Canada?" May, 2002, (ww.cerforum.org/conferences/200205/papers/immigrants%20hk_word%20conversion.pdf, accessed date 21/02/06).

Flax, J. (1990) Feminisms: Stories of gender, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, Chapter 5, 135-183.

Fleras, A. (1994) Media and Minorities in a Post-multicultural Society: Overview and Appraisal *in* Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape (*Eds*., Berry, J. W. and Laponce, J. A.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

_____ (2001) Social Problems in Canada: Conditions, constructions, and challenges, Chapter 13, Toronto: Prentice Hall, 330-347.

Fleras, A. and Elliott, J. L. (2003) Unequal relations: An introduction to race and ethnic dynamics in Canada, Fourth Edition. Toronto: Prentice-Hall.

_____(1996) Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race, Ethnic and Aboriginal Dynamics in Canada, Toronto: Prentice Hall.

_____(1992) "Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity", Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada.

Fontana, A. and Frey, J. (1994) Interviewing: The Art of Science *in* Handbook of Qualitative Research (*Eds*., Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y.) London: Sage, 361-376.

Foot, D. K. (1994) Canada's Unemployment-Immigration Linkage: Demographic, economic, and political influences, *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* 19, 4, 513-523.

Francis, D. (2001a) "Canada Gets Well-deserved U.S. Snub", *National Post*, 22 September, 2001.

Francis, D. (2001b) "Cities Fight for Fair Refugee Policy", *National Post*, 15 May, 2001.

_____ (2001c) "Federal Policy Alarms Reader", *National Post*, 12 June, 2001.

Fraser, M. (2003) "Assessing the Feasibility of Developing a Resource Centre for Internationally-Trained Professionals and Trades People in Hamilton", Prepared for *Settlement and Integration Services Organization* (SISO) Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton, September 2003, http://www.sprc.hamilton.on.ca/Reports/pdf/InternationalWorkers2003.pdf, accessed date 10/10/06.

Freidson, E. (1970) Profession of Medicine, a Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge, New York: Harper and Row.

Freilich, M. (1977) Marginal Natives: Anthropologists at Work, New York: Harper and Row.

Freire, M. (1995) The Latin American Exile Experience from a Gender Perspective: A psychodynamic assessment, *Refuge,* 14, 20-25.

Frenette, M. and Morissette, R. (2003) "Will they ever converge? Earnings of immigrant and Canadian-born workers over the last two decades", Analytical Studies Research Paper Series, Catalogue No. 11F0019MIE2003215, Ottawa: *Statistics Canada.*

Friedberg, R. (2000) You Can't Take It With You? Immigrant assimilation and the portability of human capital, *Journal of Labor Economics,* 18, 221-51.

Fulford, R. (1999) The Triump of Narratives: Storytelling in the Age of Mass Culture, Toronto: Anansi.

Galabuzi, G-E. (2001) "Canada's Creeping Economic Apartheid: The Economic Segregation and Social Marginalisation of Racialised Groups", Toronto: CJS Foundation for Research & Education.

Game, A. (1997) Sociology's Emotions, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 34, 385-399.

Gardner, A. (1994) The self-employed, Ottawa: Statistics Canada and Prentice-Hall Canada.

Gaventa, J. (1980) Power and Powerlessness, Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gelsthrope, L. (1992) Response to Martyn Hammersley's Paper on Feminist Methodology, *Sociology,* 26, 213-218.

George, U. and Michalski, J. H. (1996) "A Snapshot of Service Delivery in Organizations Serving Immigrants: Final Report", Centre for Applied Social Research, Faculty of Social Work, Toronto: University of Toronto (http://ceris.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html, accessed date 24/07/02).

George, U. and Mwarigha, M. S. (1999) "Consultation on Settlement Programming For African Newcomers", March, 1999, Centre for Applied Social Research, Faculty of Social Work, Toronto: University of Toronto.

George, U. and Tsang, K. T. (1998) "The Settlement and Adaptation of Former-Yugoslavian Newcomers", March, 1998, Faculty of Social Work, Centre for Applied Social Research, Toronto: University of Toronto (http://ceris.metropolis.net/virtual%20Library/community/george_tsang1/coverpage.html, accessed date 29/10/02).

Geronimo, J. (2000) "A Search for Models: From Collaboration to Co-Optation. Partnership Experiences in Settlement and Human Services For Newcomers", Toronto, Ontario, Canada, The GTA Consortium on the Coordination of Settlement Services, http://settlement.org, accessed date 19/08/03).

Gilbert, P. and Allan, S. (1998) The Role of Defeat and Entrapment (Arrested Flight) in Depression, *Psychology of Medicine,* 28, 585- 595.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Chicago: Aldine.

Glesne, C. and Peshkin, A. (1992) Becoming Qualitative Researchers, White-Plains, New York: Longman.

Goldberg, D. T. (1997) Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader, Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

_____ (1994) Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader, USA and UK: Basil Blackwell.

Goldberg, M. (2000) "The Facts Are In! Newcomers' Experiences in Accessing Regulated Professions in Ontario", Ottawa, Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities, Access to Professions and Trades Unit.

Golding, J. M. and Burnam, M. A. (1990) Immigration, Stress, and Depressive Symptoms in a Mexican American Community, *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease,* 178, 161-171.

Good, B. (1994) Medicine, Rationality, and Experience: An Anthropological Perspective, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Good, K. (2005) Patterns of Politics in Canada's Immigrant-receiving Cities and Suburbs: How immigrant settlement patterns shape the municipal role in multiculturalism policy, *Policy Studies,* 26, 3/4, 261- 286.

Gordon, M. M. (1964) Assimilation in American Life: The role of race, religion and national origins, New York: Oxford University Press.

Graetz, B. (1993) Health Consequences of Employment and Unemployment: Longitudinal evidence for young men and women, *Social Science & Medicine,* 36, 6, 715-724.

Granovetter, M. (1985) Economic Action and Social Structure: A theory of embeddedness, *American Journal of Sociology,* 91, 481-510.

Grant, H. M. and Oertel, R. R. (1998) Diminishing Returns to Immigrants? Interpreting the economic experience of Canadian immigrants, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 30, 3, 56-76.

Grant, M. L. (1999) Evidence of New Immigrant Assimilation in Canada, *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 32, 4, 930-955.

Green, A. G. (1995) Evidence of new immigrant assimilation in Canada, *in* Diminishing Returns, the Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy, A Comparison of Canadian and U.S. Immigration Policy in the 20th Century (*Ed.*, Devortez, D. J.) Toronto: CD Howe Institute.

Green, A. G. and Green, D. A. (2000) "The Economic Goals of Canada's Immigration Policy, Past and Present" (http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~echist/immpol.html, accessed date 05/08/03).

_____ (1999) The Economic Goals of Canada's Immigration Policy: Past and Present, *Canadian Public Policy,* 25, 4, 425-451.

_____ (1996) "The Economic Goals of Canada's Immigration Policy, Past Present: Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis", No: 96-04, Toronto, Ont.: *The Maytree Foundation.*

_____ (1995) Canadian Immigration Policy: The effectiveness of the Point System and Other Instruments, *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 28, 4, 1006-41.

Green, D. A. (1995) Intended and Actual Occupations of Immigrants, *in* Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy (*Ed.*, DeVoretz, D.) Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute, 331-378.

_____ (1999) Immigrant Occupational Attainment: Assimilation and mobility over time, *Journal of Labour Economics,* 17, 1, 49-79.

Green, D. A. and Worswick, C. (2002) "Earnings of Immigrant Men in Canada: The Roles of Labour Market Entry Effects and Returns to Foreign Experience", Paper prepared for Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Vancouver: University of British Columbia, Department of Economics.

Green, G. P., Tigges, L.M., and Diaz, D. (1999) Racial and Ethnic Differences in Job-search Strategies in Atlanta, Boston, and Los Angeles, *Social Science Quarterly,* 80, 263-278.

Green, J. (1990) Them: Voices from the Immigrant community in contemporary Britain, London, UK: Secker and Warburg.

Greenhalgh, T. and Hurwitz, B. (1999) Why study Narratives? *British Medical Journal,* 318, 48-50.

Guthrie, G. M. and Tanco, P. P. (1980) Alienation *in* Handbook of Cross - cultural Psychology, Vol. 6 (*Eds.*, Triandis, H. C. and Draguns, J. G.) Boston: Allyn & Bacon Inc., 9 - 61.

Gwyn, R. (1996) Nationalism Without Walls, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Hagendoorn, L. (1995) Intergroup Biases in Multiple Group Systems: The Perception of Ethnic Hierarchies in the Netherlands, *European Review of Social Psychology,* 6, 199-228.

Hagendoorn, L. & Pepels, J. (2003) Why the Dutch Maintain More Social Distance From Some Ethnic Minorities than from Others: A model explaining the ethnic hierarchy *in* Integrating Immigrants in the Netherlands: Cultural versus socio-economic integration (*Eds.* Hagendoorn L., Veenman J. & Vollebergh, W., Aldershot: Ashgate, 41-61.

Hagendoorn, L. & Sniderman, P. (2001) Experimenting with a National Sample: A Dutch Survey of Prejudice, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 35, 19-31.

Haggerty, M. and Johnson, C. (1995) The Hidden Barriers of Occupational Segregation, *Journal of Economic Issues,* 29, 211-222.

Haines, D. W. and Baxter, D. (1998) Anthropology and Contemporary Migration, *General Anthropology: Bulletin of the General Anthropology Division,* 5, 1, 8-11.

Hajdukowski- Ahmed, M., Maraj, D. and Dabrowski- Chudyk, B. (2000) "Wasted Skills. Foreign Trained Physicians and the Costs of Accreditation: A Participatory Action Research Project with Immigrant Women Physicians in Hamiliton", Wasted Skills. Foreign Trained Physicians and the Costs of Accreditation: A Participatory Action Research Project with Immigrant Women Physicians in Hamiliton, June 2000, Hamilton, Ontario.

Hakim, C. (1995) Five Feminist Myths about Women's Employment, *British Journal of Sociology,* 46, 429–452.

_____ (1991) Grateful Slaves and Self-made Women: Fact and fantasy in women's work orientation, *European Sociological Review,* 7, 101-121.

Hammer, T. (1993) Unemployment and Mental Health Among Young People: A longitudinal study, *Journal of A dolescence,* 16, 407–420.

Hammersley, M. (1993) Social Research, London: Sage/Open University Press.

Hammersley, M. H. (1992) What's Wrong With Ethnography? London and New York: Routledge.

Hardcastle, L., Parkin, A., Simmons, A. and Suyama, N. (1994) The Making of Immigration and Refugee Policy: Politicians, bureaucrats and citizens *in* Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared (*Eds*., Adelman, H., Borowski, A., Burstein, M. and Foster, L.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Harding, S. (1998) Is Science Multi-culturalism? Postcolonialism, Feminisms, and Epistemologies, Bloomington and Indianapolis, USA: Indiana University Press.

_____(1993) Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is "strong objectivity"? *in* Feminist epistemologies (*Eds*., L. Alcoff & E. Potter), New York and London: Routledge, 49-82.

Harles, J. C. (1997) Integration Before Assimilation: Immigration, Multiculturalism and the Canadian Polity, *Canadian Journal of Political Science,* 30, 4, 711-36.

Harney, S. (1996) Anti-racism, Ontario Style, *Race and Class,* 37, 3, 35-45, Jan-Mar.

Harvey, E. B. and Siu, B. (2001) "Immigrants' Socioeconomic Situation Compared, 1991-1996", Ottawa, Canada: INSCAN (International Settlement Toronto).

Hawkesworth, M. E. (1999) "Analyzing Backlash: Feminist Standpoint Theory as Analytical Tool", *Women's Studies International Forum,* 22, 2, 135–55.

_____(1989) Knowers, Knowing, Known: Feminist theory and claims to truth, *Signs: Journal of women in Culture and Society,* 14, 533-557.

Hawkins, F. (1991) Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared, *2nd Ed.,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University.

Hawthorne, L. (2000) The International Transfer of Skills to Australia: The "NESB" factor in labour market barriers for migrant nurses and engineers, Manash University, Ph.D. Thesis.

Heisz, A., LaRochelle-Côté, S., Bordt, M. and Das, S. (2005) "Trends and Conditions in Census Metropolitan Areas", *Statistics Canada*, Business and Labour Market Analysis Division, Science, Innovation and Electronic Information Division, Minister of Industry, Catalogue no. 89-613-MIE — No. 006 http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection/Statcan/89-613-MIE/89-613-MIE2005006.pdf , accessed date 24/04/07).

Henry, F. (1993) "A Survey of Black Business in Metro Toronto", Toronto: Multicultural and Race Relations Division of Metropolitan Toronto,

Henry, F. and Tator, C. (2000) "Racist Discourse in Canada's English Print Media", Racist discourse in Canada's English print media, Toronto: Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

Henry, F., Tator, C., Mattis, W. and Rees, T. (1995) *The Colour of Democracy: Racism in Canadian Society,* Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Company.

Hertz, R. (1997) Introduction: Reflexivity and Voice *in* Reflexivity and Voice (*Ed.*, Hertz, R.) Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, CA, vii-xviii.

Hiebert, D. (1994) Canadian Immigration: Policy, politics, and geography, *The Canadian Geographer,* 38, 254-258.

_____ (1997) "The Colour of Work: Labour Market Segmentation in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991", March 1997, 97-02, Vancouver, British Colombia, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis (RIIM), (http://www.riim.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/1997/wp9702.pdf, 05/09/02).

_____ (2003) Immigrant and Minority Enclaves in Canadian Cities, *Canadian Issues,* April.

_____ (2000) Immigration and the Changing Canadian City, *The Canadian Geographer,* 44, 1, 25-43.

_____ (1999) Local Geographies of Labor Market Segmentation: Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, 1991, *Economic Geography,* 75, 4, 339-269.

Hiebert, D. and Ley, D. (2001) "Assimilation, cultural pluralism and social exclusion among ethnocultural groups in Vancouver", Working Paper Series, 01-08, Vancouver, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis.

Higgins, E. T. (1989) Self-Discrepancy Theory: What patterns of self-beliefs cause people to suffer? *in* Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 22 (*Ed.* , Berkowitz, L.) New York: Academic Press.

Higher Education Statistics Agency (2002) "First Destination Returns", Cheltenham: HESA.

Hill, L. (2001) *Black Berry, Sweet Juice: On being black and white in Canada,* Toronto: Harper Collins.

Hill, M. (1997) The Policy Process in the Modern State, London: Prentice Hall.

Hochschild, A. (1983) The Managed Heart: Commercialisation of Human Feeling, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hoddinott, J. (1992) Fieldwork Under Time Constraints *in* Fieldwork in Developing Countries (*Eds*., Devereux, S. and Hoddinott, J.) London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 73–85.

Holder, B. S. (1998) The Role of Immigrant Servings Organizations in the Canadian Welfare State: A Case Study, Department of Adult Education, Counselling Psychology and Community Development, Toronto: University of Toronto, Ph.D., CERIS Virtual Library ceris.metropolis.net (http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/community/holder1/holder1.html, 23/05/04).

hooks, B. (1990) Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics, Boston: South End.

hooks, B. (1989) Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black, Boston, MA: Southend Press.

Hou, F. (2004) "Recent Immigration and the Formation of Visible Minority Neighbourhoods in Canada's Large Cities", Research Paper Series, Catalogue no. 11F0019MIE2004221, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Business and Labour Market Analysis Division.

Hou, F. and Garnett, P. (2002) Do Changes in Low-income Rates Among Immigrants Account for Rising Low-income in Canada?, Paper presented at the meetings of the Canadian Population Society, Toronto, Canada, May 2002.

House of Commons Canada, The Standing Committee on Citizenship and immigration, Fifth Report (2003) "Settlement and Integration: A Sense of Belonging – 'Feeling at Home' ", June 2003, Report of the standing comitteee on Citizenship

and Immigration, (http://www.parl.gc.ca/InfoComDoc/37/2/CIMM/Studies/Reports/cimmrp05-e.htm, accessed date 13/07/06).

House of Commons Canada (2001) "Bill C-ll, an act respecting immigration to Canada and the granting of refugee protection to persons who are displaced, persecuted or in danger", 1 November.

Hubbard, G., Backett-Milburn, K. and Kemmer, D. (2001) Working with Emotion: Issues for the researcher in fieldwork and teamwork, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* 4, 2, 119-137.

Huberman, A. M. and Miles, M. B. (2002) The Qualitative Researcher's Companion, Thousand Oaks, CA. : Sage Publications.

Hudson, J. and Lowe, S. (2004) Understanding the Policy Process: Analysing Welfare Policy and Practice *(Understanding Welfare: Social Issues, Policy & Practice,* Bristol, UK : Policy Press.

Human Resources Development Canada (2002) "Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning For Canadians", Hull, Canada (http://www11.sdc.gc.ca/sl-ca/doc/knowledge.pdf, accessed date 21/10/07).

Human Resources Development Canada, "Promising Opportunities", (http://www.on.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/london/lmi/tc/occs/promising.html, accessed date 21/10/07).

_____ "Community Resources for the London Area", (http://www.ont.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/london/partner/london.html, accessed date 21/10/07).

_____"London-Woodstock Economic Region Annual Labour Market Trends" (http://www.ont.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca, accessed date 21/10/07).

_____"London Census Metropolitan Area", (http://www.ont.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca, accessed date 21/10/07).

_____"Business/Industry Profile", (http://www.on.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/London/lmi/bip/index.html, accessed date 21/10/07).

_____"Local Occupational Profiles" (http://on.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/London/lmi/tc/occs/profiles.html, accessed date 21/10/07).

_____ "Labour Market Information (LMI)", (http://on.hrdc-dhrc.gc/london/lmi/, accessed date 21/10/07).

_____ "Labour Market Trends and Opportunities", (http://www.on.hrdc-dhrc.gc.ca/london/lmi/econ.html, accessed date 21/10/07).

Hunt, S. and Symonds, A. (1995) The Social Meaning of Midwifery, London, UK: Macmillan Press.

Hunter, A. A. (1981) Class Tells: On social inequality in Canada, Toronto: Butterworth and Co.

Hurh, W. M. and Kim, K. C. (1990) Correlates of Korean Immigrants' Mental Health, *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease,* 178, 703-711.

Hyman, I., *et al.* (1996) The Mental Health of Refugee Children in Canada, *Refugee,* 15, 4-8.

Industry Canada, "Key Government Initiatives", (http://www.ic.gc.ca/cmb/welcomeic.nsf/icpages/governmentinitiatives, accessed date 25/02/06).

Industry Canada (2001) "Achieving Excellence Investing in People, Knowledge and Opportunity, Canada's Innovation Strategy", Ottawa, Canada, Communications and Marketing Branch, (http://innovation.gc.ca/gol/innovation/site.nsf/vDownload/Page_PDF/$file/achieving.pdf, accessed date 25/02/06).

Ingham, J. G., Kreitman, N. B., Miller, P. M., Sashidharan, S. P. and Surtees, P. G. (1986) Self-esteem, Vulnerability, and Psychiatric Disorder in the Community, *British Journal of Psychiatry,* 148, 375-395.

Isajiw, W. W. (1999) Understanding Diversity: Ethnicity and Race in the Canadian Context, Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., Toronto.

_____ (1997) On the Concept and Theory of Social Incorporation *in* Multiculturalism in North America and Europe (*Ed.*, Isajiw, W. W.) Canadian Scholars Press, 79-102.

Isajiw, W. W., Sev'er, A. and Driedger, L. (1993) Ethnic Identity and Social Mobility: A Test of the 'Drawback Model', *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* 18, 177-96.

Jackson, A. and Robinson, D. (2000) "Falling Behind: The State of Working Canada", Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Jackson, S. (1993) Even Sociologists Fall in Love: An Exploration in the Sociology of Emotions, *Sociology,* 27, 201-220.

Jain, H. C. (2001) Equality and Diversity in Employment in Canada *in* Equality, Diversity and Disadvantage in Employment (*Eds.*, Noon, M. and Ogbonna, E.) New York: Palgrave, 80-103.

Jakubowski, L. M. (1997) Immigration and the Legalization of Racism, Halifax, N.S. : Fernwood.

Janzen, R. (2001), "The Movement of Foreign Workers: An International Perspective on Access to Professions and Trades", Toronto: Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (www.crehs.on.ca, accessed date 17/04/03).

Janzen, R., Azmi, S. and Chakkalakal, A. (2001), "Making a change together: A Resource handbook for promoting access to professions and trades for foreign-trained people in Ontario", Kitchener, Ont. : Centre for Research and Education in Human Services and Skills for Change (http://www.skillsforchange.org/library/downloads/making_a_change_together_2001.pdf, accessed date 01/02/07).

Janzen, R., Gogic, S. and Lymburner, M. (2003), "Labour Market Scan: Making Use of Immigrant Skills in London", London, Ont. : Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (www.crehs.on.ca, accessed date 01/02/07).

Janzen, R. and Lymburner, M. (2003), "Access to Professions and Trades Policy Enviornmental Scan", Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades, Kitchener, Ont. : Centre for Research and Education in Human Services.

Janzen, R., Ochocka, J. and Wing Sang Wong, V. (1998), "Dignity and Opportunity: Assessing the economic contribution of foreign trained newcomers", Kitchener, Ont. : Centre for Research and Education in Human Services (www.crehs.on.ca, accessed date 01/02/07).

Jaret, C. (1995) Contemporary Racial and Ethnic Relations, New York: HarperCollins.

Jenkins, J. (1991) The State Construction of Affect: Political ethos and mental health among Salvadoran refugees, *Culture, Medicine and Psychatry,* 15, 139-165.

Jenkins, R. (1992) Pierre Bourdieu: Revised Edition, London: Routledge.

Jenson, J. (2002), "Citizenship: Its relationship to the Canadian diversity model", Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN) (www.cprn.org, accessed date 12/10/04).

Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS) (1999) "The Development of Service and Sectoral Standards for the Immigrant Service Sector", discussion paper, June 1999. (http://ceris.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/other/holder1/chap3.html, accessed date 08/01/07).

Jones, C. (1991) Qualitative Interviewing *in* Handbook for Research Students in the Social Sciences (*Eds*., Allan, G. and Skinner, C.) London: Falmer Press.

_____ (1986) The Cultural Dimensions of Class Formation and Class Struggle: On the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu, *Berkeley Journal of Sociology,* XXXI, 53-78.

Joseph, S. (1999) Of Majorities and Minorities, *Seminar,* 484, 30-34.

Kage, J. (1962) With Faith and Thanksgiving: The story of two hundred years of Jewish immigration and immigration aid effort in Canada, 1760-1960, Montreal: Eagle Publishing.

Kahn, H. (2003) "The Retention of Newcomers in Second and Third Tier Cities in Canada", Working Paper Series, Edmonton: Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration (PCERII).

Kalbach, M. A. and Kalbach, W. E. (1999) Becoming Canadian: Problems of an emerging identity, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 31, 1-16.

Kalbach, W. E. and Richard, M. A. (1990) Ethno-religious Identity and Acculturation *in* Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigration, Racial and Cultural Variations (*Eds*., Halli, S. S., Trovato, F. and Driedger, L.), Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 179-198.

Kaler, J. (2001) Diversity, Equality, Morality in Equality, Diversity and Disadvantage in Employment (*Eds*., Noon, M. and Ogbonna, E.) New York: Palgrave.

Kalin, R. and Berry, J. W. (1994) Ethnic and Multicultural Attitudes in Ethnicity and culture in Canada: The research landscape (*Eds*., Berry, J. W. and Laponce, J. A.), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 293-321.

Kallen, E. (2003) Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada: A human rights perspective on ethnicity, racism, and systemic inequality, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kanungo, R. N. (1979) The Concepts of Alienation and Involvement Revisited, *Psychological Bulletin,* 86, 119 - 138.

Karlsen, S. and Nazaroo, J. Y. (2002) Agency and Structure: The impact of ethnic identity and racism on the health of ethnic minority people, *Sociology of Health and Illness,* 24, 1, 1-20.

Kay, J. (1998) Explaining the Modern Backlash Against Multiculturalism, *Policy Options*, 30-34.

Kazemipur, A. (2002) "The Intersection of Socio-Economic Status and Race/Ethnicity/Official Language/Religion", Prepared for the '*Intersections of Diversity' Seminar,* DRAFT, March 8, 2002 (http://canada.metropolis.net/events/Diversity/Socioeconomic_kazemipur_e.pdf, accessed date 28/02/07).

_____ (2000) The Ecology of Deprivation: Spatial concentration of poverty in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Regional Science,* 23, 3, 403-426.

Kazemipur, A. and Halli, S. (2000) Neighbourhood Poverty in Canadian Cities, *Candian Journal of Sociology,* 25, 3, 369-381.

_____ (1997) Plight of Immigrants: The spatial concentration of poverty in Canada, *Canadian Journal of Regional Sciences Special Issue,* 20, 1-2 (spring-summer), 11-28.

Keith, M. (1992) Angry Writing, *Enviornment and Planning Development: Society and Space,* 10, 551-568.

Kellen, E. (1995) Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kelly, N. and Trebilock, M. (1998) The Making of the Mosaic: A history of Canadian immigration Policy, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kemp, S. and Squires, J. (1997) Feminisms, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kenyon, E. and Hawker, S. (1999) 'Once Would be Enough': Some reflections on the issue of safety for lone researchers, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2, 4, 313-327.

Keung, N., 2004, The Story Behind the Immigrants' Touching Tales, *The Star.com*, (www.thestar.com/NASApp/cs/ContentServer?pagename=thestar/Layout/Article , accessed date 22/03/04).

Kilbride, K. M., Anisef, P., Baichman-Anisef, E. and Khattar, R. (2000), "Between Two Worlds: The experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario", Report to the Ontario Administration of Settlement and Integration Services of the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Kivisto, P. (2002) Multiculturalism in a Global Society, Oxford: Blackwell.

Kleinman, A. *et al.* (1997) Introduction *in* Social Suffering (*Ed.*, Kleinman *et al.*) Berkeley: University of California Press, ix-xvii.

Knowles, V. (1997) Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian immigration and immigration *policy, 1540-1997*, Toronto: Dundurn Press.

Kofman, E., Phizacklea, A., Raghuram, P. and Sales, R. (2000) Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare and Politics, London, UK: Routledge.

Kondo, D. (1986) Dissolution and Reconstitution of Self: Implications for Anthropological Epistemology, *Cultural Anthropology*, 1, 1, 74-88.

Kosic, A. (2004) Acculturation Strategies, Coping Process and Acculturative Stress, *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 45, 4, 269-278.

Koss-Chioino, J. D. (1989) Experience of Nervousness and Anxiety Disorders in Puetro Rican Women: Psychiatric and ethnopsychological perspectives *in* Gender, Health, and Illness: The Case of Nerves (*Eds.*, Davis, D. L. and Low, S. M.), New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 153-180.

Kozol, J. (1988) Rachel and Her Children: Homeless families in America, New York: Fawcett Columbine.

Krau, E. (1991) The Contradictory Immigrant Problem: A socio-psychological analysis, New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Krieger, S. (1991) Social Science and the Self: Personal essays on an art form, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Krulfeld, R. M. and Camino, L. A. (1994) Introduction *in* Reconstructing Lives, Recapturing Meaning: Refugee identity, gender, and culture change (*Eds*., Camino, L. A. and Krulfeld, R. M.) Washington, DC: George and Breach Publishers.

Krulfeld, R. M. and MacDonald, J. L. (1998) Introduction *in* Power, Ethics, Human Rights:Anthropological Studies of Refugee Research and Action (*Eds*., Krulfeld, R. M. and MacDonald, J. L.) Lanham, MD: Rowan &Littlefield, 1-18.

Kukla, A. (2000) Social Constructionism and the Philosophy of Science, New York: Routledge.

Kunz, J. L., Milan, A. and Schetagne, S. (2001) "Unequal Access: A Canadian Profile of Racial Differences in Education, Employment, and Income", Toronto, Report to the Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF).

Kymlicka, W. (1998) Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lai, G., Lin, N. and Leung, S-Y (1998) Network Resources, Contact Resources, and Status Attainment, *Social Networks*, 20, 159-178.

Lakhotia, K. (2001) "London's Economy", London: London Economic Development Corporation, (www.londonedc.com/statpub/publications/pdf/londonsEconomy.pdf, accessed date 16/11/03).

Lalonde, R. N. and Cameron, J. E. (1993) An Intergroup Perspective on Immigrant Acculturation with a Focus on Collective Strategies, *International Journal of Psychology*, 28, 57-74.

Lam, L. (1994) Searching for a Safe Haven: The migration and settlement of Hong Kong Chinese immigrants in Toronto *in* Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese (*Ed*., Skeldon, R.), Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 163-79.

Lamontagne, F. (2003), "Workers Educated Abroad: Seduction and Abandonment", November 26, 2003, Food for Thought- Document no.10, Ottawa: Canadian Career Development Foundation (www.creccanada.org/symposium, accessed date 27/08/05).

Lampert, A. (1998) Internships Give Immigrants a Head Start *in The Montreal Gazette*, June 28, 1998, P.5.

Langlois, A. and Razin, E. (1989) Self-Employment Among Ethnic Minorities in Canadian Metropolitan Areas, *Canadian Journal of Regional Sciences Special Issue*, 12, 3, 335-354.

Lanphier, M. (1997) Devolution in Post-multicultural Society, *Refuge,* 15, 6, 1-5.

Larson, M. S. (1977) The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Laslett, B. (1990) Unfeeling Knowledge: Emotions and objectivity in the history of sociology, *Sociological Forum,* 5, 413-433.

Laurier, C. (2000) "Competency Based Assessment Programs for Internationally Trained Professionals, December 1, 2000, Session Proceedings, Toronto: *The Maytree Foundation.*

Lautard, H. and Guppy, N. (1990) The Vertical Mosaic Revisited: Occupational differentials among Canadian ethnic groups *in* Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada (*Eds*., Li, P. S.), Toronto: Oxford University Press, 189-208.

Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. and Davis, J. H. (1997) The Art and Science of Portraiture, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Layder, D. (1994) Understanding Social Theory, London: Sage Publications.

_____ (1993) New Strategies in Social Research: An Introduction and Guide, Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Lazarus, R. S. and Folkman, S. (1984) Stress, Appraisal, and Coping, New York: Springer.

Leana, C. and Feldman, D. (1991) Gender Differences in Responses to Unemployment, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour,* 38, 65–77.

Leck, J. D. and Saunders, D. M. (1992) Canada's Employment Equity Act: Effects on employee selection, *Population Research and Policy Review,* 11, 21-49.

_____ (1996) Achieving Diversity in the Workplace: Canada's Employment Equity Act and members of visible minorities, *International Journal of Public Administration,* 19, 299-321.

_____ (1994) Employment Equity Programs: Effects on hiring visible minorities *in* New Approaches to Employee Management, Vol. 2 (*Ed.*, Saunders, D. M.), Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Lee, R. (1993) Doing Research on Sensitive Topics, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Leeflang, R., Klein-Hesselink, D. and Spruit, I. (1992) Health Effects of Unemployment: Men and women, *Social Science and Medicine,* 34, 351-363.

Leung, H. H. (2000) "Settlement Services Policies and Settlement issues Among Chinese Canadian in Canada", Scarborough, Ont. : CERIS Metropolis.

Levine, D. N. (1989) Parson's Structure (And Simmel) Revisited, *Sociological Theory,* 7, 1(spring), 110-117.

Levy, R. J. and Hollan, D. W. (1998) Person-centered Interviewing and Observation *in* Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology (*Ed.*, Bernard, R. H.) Walnut Creek, CA: Sage, 333-364.

Ley, D. (2005) "Post-Multiculturalism?" Working Paper Series, September 2005, No. 05-18, Vancouver: Vancouver Centre of Excellence, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis.

_____ (1999) Myths and Meanings of Immigration and the Metropolis, *The Canadian Geographer,* 43, 1, 2-19.

Ley, D. and Smith, H. (1997) Immigration and Poverty in Canadian Cities, *Canadian Journal of Regional Science,* 20, 1-2, 29-48.

Li, P. (2001) The Market Worth of Immigrants' Educational Credentials, *Canadian Public Policy,* 27, 1, 23-38.

_____ (2000) 'Economic Returns of Immigrant' Self-Employment, *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* 25, 1, 1-34.

_____ (1996) The Making of Post-War Canada, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

_____ (1993) Chinese Investment and Business in Canada: Ethnic entrepreneurship reconsidered, *Pacific Affairs,* 66, 219-43.

_____ (1988) The Chinese in Canada, Toronto: Oxford University Press.
_____ (1982) Chinese Immigrants on the Canadian Prairie, 1910-47, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 19: 527-540.

Lian, Z. J. and Matthews, R. D. (1998) Does the Vertical Mosaic Still Exist? Ethnicity and income in Canada, 1991, *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 35, 4, 461-481.

Lincoln, Y. S. (1999) "Courage, Vulnerability and Truth", Reclaiming Voice II: Ethnographic Inquiry and Qualitative Research in a Postmodern Age, Irvine: University of California.

Linc-up (2001) *Linc up,* 7, 3 (May/June), 8.

Lo, L., Preston, V., Wang, S., Reil, K., Sui, B. and Harvey, E. (2000) "Immigrants' Economic Status in Toronto: Rethinking Settlement and Integration Strategies", CERIS Working Paper, Toronto: Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

Lochhead, C. (2003) "The Transition Penalty: Unemployment Among Recent Immigrants to Canada", CLBC Commentary, July, 2003, Ottawa, Ontario, Canadian Labour and Business Centre, (www.clbc.ca/files/Reports/Fitting_in/Transition_Penalty_e-CLBC.pdf, accessed date 22/12/06).

Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (1995) Analysing Social Setting, California: Wadsworth Publications Company.

London Economic Development Corporation (2005) "Immigrant Support Services", Immigrant Support Services, London, Ont.: London Economic Development Corporation, www.ledc.com, accessed date 02/09/06).

London Midddlesex Oxford Local Training Board (2002) "Labour Market Enviornmental Scan", London Middlesex Oxford Local Training Board.

London Cross Cultural Learner Centre (2003) "Major Professions of New Clients", London, Ont.: *London Cross Cultural Learner Centre.*

_____ (2003) "Medical Professionals in London Seeking Help from CLCC", London, Ont.: London Cross Cultural Learner Centre.

_____ (2000) "Newcomers to London 1995-2000", Newcomers to London 1995-2000, London, Ontario: London Cross Cultural Centre.

Lonner, W. and Berry, J. W. (1986) Field Methods in Cross-cultural Research, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Losaria-Barwick, C. (1992) "Mental Health of Refugees: Opportunities and challenges. A summary of issues affecting mental health of refugees", Ottawa, Canada, Developed for the Ministry of Citizenship Community Consultation on Refugees.

Luff, D. (1999) Dialogue Across the Divide: Moments of rapport and power in feminist research with anti-feminist women, *Sociology,* 33, 687-703.

Lui-Gurr, S. (1995) The British Columbia Experience with Immigrants and Welfare Dependency, 1989 in Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy (*Ed.*, DeVoretz, D. J.) C.D. Toronto: Howe Institute.

Luk, B. and Lee, F. (1994) The Chinese Expansion and the World Today: North American experience, proceedings of an International Symposium of the Centre for Area Studies, Keio University, December 2-3.

Ma, A. and Fong, E. (1996) "Racism and Chinese-Canadian Business Participation", Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation.

MacDonald, M. K. (1995) The Sociology of The Professions, London: Sage Publication.

Mackey, E. (1996) "Managing and Imagining Diversity: Multiculturalism and the Construction of National Identity in Canada", Ph.D. Thesis, Sussex University, UK.

Mahajan, G. (2002) The Multicultural Path: Issues of Diversity and Discrimination in Democracy, New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.

Mahtani, M. (2004) Interrogating the Hyphen-Nation: Canadian multicultural policy and "mixed race" identities, *Policy Matters,* April 2004, CERIS, No.5, (http://ceris.metropolis.net/PolicyMatter/2004/PolicyMatters5.pdf, date accessed 26/03/07).

_____ (2002) "Interrogating the Hyphen-nation: Canadian Multicultural policy and 'mixed race' identities", October, 2002, Working Paper Series No. 20, Toronto, Canada: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement (CERIS).

Mann, M. (1993) The Sources of Social Power, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____ (1986) The Sources of Social Power, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marshall, A. (1994) Sensuous Sapphires: A study of the social construction of black female sexuality *in* Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective (*Eds*., Maynard, M. and Purvis, J.) London: Taylor and Francis, 106-124.

Marshall, T. H. (1963) Class, Citizenship, and Social Development, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Massey, D. S. and Kouaouci, A. (1999) Worlds in Motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. E. (1998) *Worlds in Motion, Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennnium,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. E. (1993) Theories of International Migration: A review and appraisal, *Population and Development Review,* 19, 3, 431-466.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G. and Taylor, J. E. (1994) An Evaluation of International Migration Theory: the North American case, *Population and Development Review,* 20.

Mata, F. (1996) Birthplace and Economic Similarities in the Labour Force: An analysis of Toronto's census microdata *in* Immigration and ethnicity in Canada (*Eds*., Lapierre, A., Lindstrom, V. and Seiler, T. P.), Montreal: Association for Ethnic Studies.

_____ (1999) "The Non-Accreditation of Immigrant Professionals in Canada: Societal Dimensions of the problem", September 15, 1999, Paper presented to a panel discussion organized by *The Maytree Foundation* during the conference '*Shaping the Future: Qualifications recognition in the 21st Century*', October 12-15, 1999, Toronto, Ontario., Ottawa, Canada, Mutliculturalism Program, Citizenship and Canadian Identity, Department of Canadian Heritage, (http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/societal/content_e.cfm, accessed date 06/12/02).

Mata, F. and Pendakur, R. (1998), "Immigration, Labour Force Integration and the Pursuit of Self-employment", January, 1998, Working Paper Series #98-05, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, Vancouver: Vancouver Centre of Excellence.

Matuk, L. C. (1996) Health Status of Newcomers, *Canadian Journal of Public Health,* 87, 152-7.

Mauthner, N. and Doucet, A. (1998) Reflections on a voice-centered relational method: Analysing maternal and domestic voices *in* Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: Public Knowledge and private lives (*Eds*., Ribbens, J. and Edwards, R.), London: Sage Publications Ltd., 119-146.

Maxim, P., Zhao, Z. J. and Beaujot, R. (1994) Self-employment Among Immigrants: A Test of the Social Marginality Hypothesis. *Canadian Studies in Population*, 21: 81-96.

Maxwell, J. A. (1996) Qualitative Research Design: An interactive approach, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

McDade, K. (1988) "Barriers to Recognition of the Credentials of Immigrants in Canada", Ottawa: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

McDowell, L. (1997) Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City, Oxford: Blackwell.

McFonald, J. and Worswick, C. (1997) Unemployment Incidence of Immigrant Men in Canada, *Canadian Public Policy,* 23, 4, 353-373.

McIsaac, E. (2003) "Immigrants in Canadian Cities: Census 2001 - What Do the Data Tell Us", May 2003, Ottawa: Institute for Research and Public Policy.

McKee, L. and O'Brian, M. (1986) Interviewing Men: 'Taking Gender Seriously' *in* The Public and the Private (*Eds*., Gamarnikow, E., Morgan, D., Purvis, J. and Taylorson, D.), London: Heinemann, 147-159.

Mclean, F. (2003) "Looking Backwards, Looking Forwards - Outcomes of IEP Conference, 2003", Outcomes of A Conference for Internationally Educated Professionals, *Breaking Barriers Building Bridges*, Toronto, Canada, February 20, 2003.

McQuillan, K. and Ravanera, R. Z. (1994) "Linguistic Adaptation of Newcomers: The case of recent immigrants to London, Ontario", Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Population Society, Calegary, Alberta, Canada, 12-14 June 1994, Discussion Paper No.94-6.

Menjivar, C. (1995) Kinship Networks Among Immigrants: Lessons from a qualitative comparative approach, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* 36, 219-233.

Mentzer, M. and Fizel, J. L. (1992) Affirmative Action and Ethnic Inequality in Canada: The impact of the Employment Equity Act of 1986, *Ethnic Groups,* 9, 203-217.

Metropolis Conversation Series, '*Absorptive Capacity*', (http://canada.metropolis.net/events/conversation/conversation_1.html, accessed date 23/08/06).

Mies, M. (1993) Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research *in* Social Research: Philosophy, politics and practice (*Ed.*, Hammersley, M.) London: Sage.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994) Qualitative Data Analysis, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Miles, R. (1989) Racism, London: Tavistock.

Millen, D. (1997) Some Methodological and Epistemological Issues Raised by doing Feminist Research on Non-feminist Women, *Sociological Research Online,* 2 (http://www.socre-online.org.uk/2/3/3.html, accessed date 05/11/01.

Miller, T. (1998) Shifting Layers in Professional, Lay and Personal Narratives *in* Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research (*Eds.*, Ribbens, J. and Edwards, R.) London: Sage.

Minchiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E. and Alexander, L. (1990) In-depth Interviewing, Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.

Minstry of Community and Social Services, Internationally Trained Workers: Academic credentials, (http://www.equalopportunity.on.ca/eng_g/apt/acabg.html, accessed date 15/09/07).

Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing (2003) "London Area: In Profile", Region In Profile Series: No. 2, Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Provincial Planning and Environmental Services Branch, (http://www.mah.gov.on.ca/userfiles/page_attachments/Library/1/3690720_Web_Final_-_Part_1.pdf, accessed date 19/08/06).

Mirza, M. (1998) 'Same Voices, Same Lives?' Revisiting black feminist standpoint epistemology *in* Researching Racism in Education: Politics, Theory and Practice (*Eds.*, Connolly, P. and Troyna, B.) Buckingham: Open University, 79-94.

Moghaddam, F., Taylor, D. M. and Wright, S. C. (1993) Social Psychology in Cross - cultural Perspective, New York: W.H. Freeman and Company.

Mojab, S. (1999) De-skilling Immigrant Women, *Canadian Women's Studies,* 19, 3, 123-128.

Murphy, G. C. and Athanasou, J. A. (1999) The Effect of Unemployment on Mental Health, *Journal of Occupational and Organisational Psychology,* 72, 83-99.

Mwarigha, M. S. (2002) "Towards a Framework for Local Responsibility: Taking action to end the current limbo in immigrant settlement", January, 2002, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, Commissioned by *The Maytree Foundation.*

Mwarigha, M. S. (1997) Issues and Prospects: The funding and delivery of immigrant services in the context of cutbacks, Devolution and Amalgamation, Paper presented at the Urban Forum on Immigration and Refugee Issues, Toronto, September 29, 1997, (www.ceris.metropolis.globalx.net/v1/other/Mwarigha29Sept97/html, accessed date 02/11/01).

Mwarigha, M. S. and Murphy, G. C. (1997) "Merchants of Care? The Non-Profit Sector in a Competitive Social Services Marketplace", Toronto, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. (http://www.ceris.metropolis.globalx.net/v1/other/Mwarigha29Sept97/html , accessed date 22/06/04).

Naidoo, J. C. (1992) The Mental Health of Visible Ethnic Minorities in Canada, *Psychology and Developing Societies,* 4, 2,165 - 187.

Nakhaie, M. R. (1998) Ethnic Inequality: Well-paid employees of the Ontario public bureaucracy, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 30, 1, 119-136.

Nancoo, E. S. and Ramcharan, S. (1995) "Canadian Diversity 2000 and Beyond", Mississagua, Ont. : Canadian Educators.

Narayan, K. (1993) How Native is a Native Anthropologist? *American Anthropology,* 95, 3, 671-686.

Nash, A. (1994) Some Recent Developments in Canadian Immigration Policy, *The Canadian Geographer,* 38, 258-61.

Neuwirth, G. (1987) Socioeconomic Adjustment of Southeast Asian Refugees in Canada *in* Refugees: A Third World Dilemma (*Ed.*, Rogge, J. R.) Totowa, N.J. : Rowman and Littlefield.

Neuwirth, G. (1997) Settlement Indicators, *International Settlement Canada (INSCAN),* 11, 2, winter, 1997.

_____(1999) Toward a Theory of Immigrant Integration *in* Immigrant Canada, Demographic, Economic, and Social Challenges (*Eds*., Halli, S. S. and Driedger, L.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 51-69.

Nordenmark, M. (1999) Employment Commitment and Psychological Well-being Among Unemployed Men and Women, *Acta Sociologica,* 42, 2, 135-146.

Norum, K. E. (2000) Black (w) Holes: A researcher's place in her research, *Qualitative Sociology,* 23, 3, 319-340.

O'Conner, P. and Skills for Change (2003) "Improving Labour Market Integration of Newcomers: The newcomer labour market partnership", Improving Labour Market Integration of Newcomers: The Newcomer Labour Market Partnership, Skills for Change.

Oakley, A. (1981) Interviewing Women: A contradiction in terms *in* Doing feminist research (*Ed*., Robers, H.) London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 30-61.

OECD (2001) OECD in Figures: Statistics in OECD Member Countries, (http://www.econ.umn.edu/~kortum/courses/0101081e.pdf, accessed date 26/03/07).

Olson, S. (1991) Ethnic Strategies in the Urban Economy, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 33, 39-58.

Omidvar, R. and Richmond, T. (2003) "Immigrant Settlement and Social Inclusion in Canada", January 2003, Working Paper Series Perspectives on social inclusion, Toronto, Ont. : Laidlaw Foundation.

Ontario Coalition of Agencies Serving Immigrants (2001) "Settlement Service Standards: An Inventory of Work-in-Progress and Future Steps", August 2001.

_____ (1991) "Immigrant Settlement Counselling: A Training Guide", Ottawa, Canada: OCASI.

Ooka, E. and Wellman, B. (2000) "Does Social Capital Pay Off More Within or Between Ethnic Groups? Analysing job searches in five Tronoto ethnic groups", January 2000, Toronto: University of Toronto.

Ornstein, M. (2000) Ethno-racial inequality in Toronto: Analysis of the 1996 Census, Toronto: York University Institute for Social Research.

Osterman, P. (1984) Introduction: The Nature and Importance of Internal Labor Markets *in* Internal Labor Markets (*Ed*., Osterman, P.) Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1-22.

Owen, T. (1999) "The View From Toronto: Settlement Services in the Late 1990's", Toronto, Ontario, Canada, CERIS Virtual Library (http://ceris.metropolis.net, accessed date 12/06/02).

Palmer, D. L. (1999) "Canadian Attitudes and Perceptions Regarding Immigration: Relations with Regional Per Capita Immigration and Other Contextual Factors", August 1999, Ottawa: Strategic Policy and Planning, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

_____ (1998) "A Detailed Regional Analysis of Perceptions of Immigration in Canada", Key Findings, June 1998, Ottawa: Strategic Policy and Planning, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Panini, M. (1991) From the Female Eye: Accounts of Women Fieldworkers Studying Their Own Communities, Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation.

Park, R. (1928) Human Migration and the Marginal Man, *American Journal of Sociology*, 33, 881-93.

Parkeh, B. (2000) Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory, London, UK: Mcmillan Press.

Passaris, C. (1989) The Immigration Cure, *Policy Options*, 10, 5, 28-30.

Patton, M. Q. (1990) Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Peak, L. and Ray, B. (2001) Racialising the Canadian Landscape: Whiteness, uneven geographies, and social justice, *The Canadian Geographer*, 45, 1, 180-86.

Pendakur, R. (2000) *Immigrants and the Labour Force: Policy, regulation, and impact,* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston.

Pendakur, K. and Pendakur, R. (1998) The Colour of Money: Wage differentials across ethnic groups, *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 31, 3, 518-548.

_____(1997) "Speak and Ye Shall Receive: Language knowledge as human capital", Metropolis Working Paper Series, 97-10, Vancouver: Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, Vancouver Centre of Excellence, (http://canada.metropolis.net/search/queries/vlframe_e.asp, accessed date 15/03/01).

Pendakur, R. and Mata, F. (1999) "Where Do Immigrants Work? Tracking industrial location propensities of 1960s immigrants", May 1999, 99-13, Vancouver, Canada: Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis (RIIM), Department of Canadian Heritage, (http://www.riim.metropolis.net/Virtual%20Library/1999/wp9913.pdf, 04/04/01).

Peterson, M. F. and Roquebert, J. (1993) Success Patterns of Cuban-American Entreprises: Implications for entrepreneural communities, *Human Relations,* 46, 8, 921-937.

Phoenix, A. (1994) Practising Feminist Research: The intersection of gender and 'race' in the research process *in* Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective (*Eds*., Maynard, M. and Purvis, J.) London: Taylor and Francis, 49-71.

Picot, G. (2005) "The Deteriorating Economic Welfare of Immigrants, and Possible Causes: Update 2005", June, 2005, Statistics Canada, Business and Labour Market Analysis Division.

Picot, G. and Heisz, A. (1999) Canadian Labour Market Performance in Historical Context, Centre dor the Study of Living Standards (CSLS) Conference on the Structural Aspects of Unemployment in Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, April 22-23, 1999.

Picot, G. and Hou, F. (2003) "The Rise in Low-income Rates Among Immigrants in Canada", June, 2003, Analytical Studies Branch research paper series, Ottawa: Business and Labour Market Analysis Division.

Pierce, J. L. (1995) *Gender Trials: Emotional lives in contemporary law firms,* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Porter, J. (1965) The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

_____ (1979) The Measure of Canadian Society: Education, equality and opportunity, Agincourt, Ont. : Gage.

Portes, A. (1997) Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities, *International Migration Review,* 31, 4, 799-825.

Portes, A. and Borocz, J. (1989) Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical perspectives on its determinants and modes of incorporation, *International Migration Review,* 23, 606-630.

Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R. G. (1990) Immigrant America: A portrait, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Portes, A. and Zhou, M. (1999) Entrepreneurship and Economic Progress in the 1990's: A comparative analysis of immigrants and African Americans *in Immigration and Opportunity: Race, ethnicity, and employment in the United States* (*Eds*., Bean, F. D. and Bell-Rose, S.), New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 143-71.

Potter, M. S. (1999) The Social Resources of Immigrants: Effects on the integration of independent and family class immigrants to Toronto, Canada from South Asia, Sociology, Toronto: University of Toronto, (http://ceris.metropolis.net/virtual%20library/community/potter/coverpages.html, accessed date 17/05/02).

Pratt, G. (1999) From Registered Nurse to Registered Nanny: Discursive geographies of Filipina domestic workers in Vancouver, BC, *Economic Geography,* 75, 3, 215-236.

_____ (2000) Studying Immigrants in Focus Groups *in* Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis Working paper Series, Vancouver Centre of Excellence.

Preston, V. and Giles, W. (1997) Ethnicity, Gender and Labour Market in Canada: A case study of immigrant women in Toronto, *Canadian Journal of Urban Research,* 6, 2, 135-159.

Preston, V. and Man, G. (1999) Employment Experiences of Chinese Immigrant Women: An exploration of diversity, *Canadian Women's Studies,* 19, 115-122.

Price-Waterhouse (1998) "Foreign Academic Credential Assessment Services Business Assessment: Final Report", Toronto, Ontario: Price-Waterhouse.

Probyn (1996) Outside Belongings, London: Routledge.

Policy Roundtable Mobilizing Professions and Trades (2005) "Smart Settlement: Current Dispersion Policies and a Community Engagement Model for sustainable Immigration Settlement in Ontario's Smaller Communities", Discussion Paper, Toronto: Triple S. Community Building.

_____ (2004) "In the Public Interest: Immigrant Access to Regulated Professions in Today's Ontario", July 2004, A PROMPT Policy Paper, Centre for Research and Education in Human Services.

_____ (2003) "Access to Professions and Trades Policy Environmental Scan", Kitchener, Ont. : Centre for Research and Education in Human Servies.

Punch, M. (1994) Politics and Ethics in Qualitative Research *in* Handbook of Qualitative Research (*Eds*., Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y.) London: Sage, 83-97.

Quinn, J. (2002) "Food Bank Clients Often Well-Educated Immigrants", *The Toronto Star*, Toronto, A12, 31, March, 2002.

Rakhit, A. (1998) Silenced Voices: Life history as an research approach to the study of South Asian women teachers in Researching Racism in Education: Politics, theory and practice (*Eds*., Connolly, P. and Troyna, B.) Buckingham: Open University, 55-66.

Razavi, S. (1992) Fieldwork in a Familiar Setting: The role of politics at the national, community and household levels in Fieldwork in Developing Countries (*Eds*., Devereux, S. and Hoddinott, J.), Hemel Hempstead, Herts., UK: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 152-163.

Razin, E. and Langlois, A. (1996a) Immigrant and Ethnic Entrepreneurs in Canadian and American Metropolitan Areas: A comparative perspective in Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada (*Eds*., Laperriere, A., Lindstrom, V. and Seiler, T. P.) Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, 127-44.

_____ (1996b) Metropolitan Characteristics and Entrepreneurship Among Immigrants and Ethnic Groups in Canada, *International Migration Review,* 30, 703-27.

Redding, S. G. (1990) The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism, New York: W. de Gruyter.

Reich, M., Gordon, D. M. and Edwards, R. C. (1973) Dual Labour Markets: A theory of labor market segmentation, *American Economic Review,* 63, 2, 359-365.

Reinharz, S. (1992) Feminist Methods in Social Research, New York: Oxford University Press.

Reitz, J. (2003) "Occupational Dimensions of Immigrant Credentials Assessment: Trends in professional, managerial and other occupations, 1970-1996", February, 2003, Toronto: University of Toronto.

_____(2002) Immigration and Canadian Nation-building in the Transition to a Knowldge Economy *in* Controlling Immigration: a Global Perspective (*Eds.*, Cornelius, W. A., Martin, P. L. and Hdlifield, J. F.) Stanford University Press, 1-40.

_____(2001a) Immigrant Success and Changing National Institutions: Recent trends in Canada, a U.S. comparison, and policy options, Paper presented at conference on Reinvesting Society in a Changing Global Economy, Toronto, March 2001.

_____(2001b) Immigrant Success in the Knowledge Economy: Institutional change and the immigrant experience in Canada, 1970-1995, *Journal of Social Issues,* 57, 3, 579-613.

_____ (2001c) Immigrant Skill Utilization in the Canadian Labour Market: Implications of human capital research, *Journal of Internatinal Migration and Integration,* 2, 3, 347-378.

_____ (1998a) Warmth of the Welcome: The social causes of economic success for immigrants in different nations and cities *in* Evaluating Active Labor Market Policies: Lessons from North America, Vol. Chapters 1 & 8 (*Ed.*, Smith, J.) Westview Press.

_____(1998b) Measuring Down: The economic performance of new Canadians is declining: If we want to change that, we need to rethink immigration policy *in* Post 2000: Business Wisdom for the Next Century (*Ed.*, Davies, C.) Toronto: Key Porter Books, 157-163.

_____(1995) "A Review of the Literature on Aspects of Ethno-Racial Access, Utilization and Delivery of Social Services", November 30, 1995, Toronto, Canada: CERIS Virtual Library, (http://ceris.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html, accessed date 10/11/01).

_____(1990) Ethnic Concentrations in Labour Markets and Their Implications for Ethnic Inequality *in* Ethnic identity and equality: Varieties of experiences in a Canadian city (*Ed.*, Breton, *et al.*), Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

_____(1982) "Ethnic Group Control of Jobs", Research Paper, No. 133, Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies.

_____ (1980) The Survival of Ethnic Groups, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Reitz, J. G. and Breton, R. (1994) The Illusion of Difference: Realities of ethnicity in Canada and the United States, Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Reitz, J., Calzavara, L. and Dasko, D. (1981) "Ethnic Inequality and Segregation of Jobs", Research Paper, No.123, Toronto, University of Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies.

Richardson, L. (1997) Fields of Play: Constructing an academic life, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Richmond, A. (2000) Immigration Policy and Research in Canada: Pure or applied? *Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies,* 26, 1 (January), 109-125.

_____ (1992) Immigration and Structural Change: The Canadian experience, 1971-1986, *International Migration Review,* 26, 4 (winter), 1200-1221.

_____ (1994) Global Apartheid: Refugees, racism and the new world order, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

_____ (1974) "Aspects of the Absorption and Adaptation of Immigrants", Ottawa: Manpower and Immigration.

Richmond, T. (1996) "Effects of Cutbacks on Immigrant Service Agencies", Toronto: City of Toronto, Public Health Department, (http://ceris.metropolis.net/v1/other/richmond_2.html, accessed date 25/07/03).

Ritzer, G. and Goodman, D., J. (2004) Modern Sociological Theory, New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Roberts, H. (1981) Doing Feminist Research, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rogler, L. H. (1994) International Migrations: A framework for directing research, *American Psychologist,* 49, 701-708.

Rose, G. (1995) Distance, Surface, Elsewhere: A feminist Critique of the Space of Phallocentric Self/ Knowledge, *Envioronment and Planning D, Society and Space,* 13, 761-81.

Rowe, R. and Snizek, W. (1995) Gender Differences in Work Values, *Work and Occupations,* 22, 215–229.

Rumbaut, R. G. (1997) Assimilation and Its Discontents: Between rhetoric and reality, *International Migration Review,* 31 (winter), 923-960.

Sabbatier, C. and Berry, J. W. (1994) Immigration et acculturation *in* Stéréotypes, Discrimination et Relations Intergroupes (*Eds*., Bourhis, R. Y. and Leyens, J. P.), Liège: Mardaga, 261-291.

Salaff, J. and Greve, A. (2004) Losing Status in Canada: Gender and human capital discrimination of Chinese immigrants, Paper presented at The 7th National Metropolis Conference, Montreal, Quebec, March 25-28, 2004.

Salaff, J., Greve, A. and Wong, S-L (2001) Professionals from China: Entrepreneurship and social resources in a stranges land, *Asia Pacific Migration Review,* 10, 1, 9-34.

Salaff, J. W. and Greve, A. (2001) Women That Move: International migration from the PRC to Canada and The Negotiation of Gendered Opportunities, Paper presented at 'Migration and the Asian Family in Globalising World', Centre for advanced Studies, National University of Singapore, Singapore, 16-18 April 2001.

Salaff, W. J., Greve, A. and Ping, X. L., Lynn (2001) Paths into the Economy: Structural barriers and the job hunt for skilled PRC migrants in Canada, Labour in Globalising World: The Challenge for Asia, City University, Hong Kong, January 4-6, 2001.

Saloojee, A. (2003) Social Inclusion and Democratic Citizenship, *Canadian Diversity,* 2, 1 (spring).

Salt, J. (1989) A Comparative Owerview of International Trends and Types 1950-80, *International Migration Review,* 3, 431-456.

Samers, M. (1998) "Structured coherence": Immigration, racism and production in the Paris car industry, *European Planning Studiies,* 6, 1, 49-72.

Sanchez-Keane, M. (2003) "Establishing Effective Strategies to Increase the Opportunities for Visible/Racial Minorities to Gain Employment", The Elgin, Middlesex, Oxford Local Training Board.

Sanders, J. M. and Nee, V. (1996) Immigrant Self-employment: The family as social capital and the value of human capital, *American Sociological Review,* 16, 2, 231-249.

Sands, E. A. and Berry, J. W. (1993) Acculturation and Mental Health Among Greek-Canadians in Toronto, *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health,* 12, 117-124.

Sangster, D. (2001) "Assessing and Recognising Foreign Credentials in Canada-Employers' Views", January 2001, Ottawa, Canada, Canadian Labour and Business Centre.

Satzewich, V. (1993) Migrant and Immigrant Families in Canada: State coercion and legal control in the formation of ethnic Familfes, *Journal of Comparative Family Studies,* 24, 3, 315-338.

_____(1998) Race, Racism and Racialisation: Contested Concepts *in* Racism and Social Inequality in Canada (*Ed.*, Satzewich, V.), Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Schaafsma, J. and Sweetman, A. (2001) Immigrant Earnings: age at immigration matters, *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 34, 4, 1066-1099.

Schatzman, L. and Strauss, A. (1973) Field Eesearch: Strategies for a natural sociology, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Schellenberg, G. (2004) "Immigrants in Canada's Census Metropolitan Areas: Trends and Conditions in Census Metropolitan Areas", August 2004, Catalogue No. 89-613-MIE, No. 003, Ottawa: Canada, Statistics Canada (http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/pdf/Immigrants%20in%20Metro%20Areas.pdf, accessed date 06/05/06).

Schwartz, H. and Jacobs, J. (1979) Qualitative Sociology: A method to the madness, Harper Macmillan, London.

Scott, W.R. (2001) Institutions and Organizations. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Scully, D. (1990) Understanding Sexual Violence: A study of convicted rapists, London: Harper Collins Academic.

Searle, W. and Ward, C. (1990) The Prediction of Psychological and Sociocultural Adjustment During Cross - cultural Transitions, *International Journal of Inter - cultural Relations,* 14, 449 - 464.

Settlement.Org, Information and Resources for Immigrants to Ontario, Canada, (http://www.settlement.org/index.html, accessed date 22/08/02).

Sherif, M. (1966) *Group Conflict and Cooperation: Their social psychology,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Shields, J. (2002) "No Safe Haven: Markets, welfare and migrants", June 1, 2002, Toronto, Paper presented to the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association Congress of the Social Sciences and Humanities.

Shipman, M. (1988) The Limitations of Social Research, London: Longman.

Shuval, J. T. (2000) The Reconstruction of Professional Identity Among Immigrant Physicans in Three Societies, *Journal of Immigrant Health,* 2, 4, 191-201.

Shuval, J. T. and Bernstein, J. (1996) The Dynamics of Professional Commitment: Immigrant physicians from the former Soviet Union in Israel, *Social Science and Medicine,* 42, 7, 965-974.

Silkowska-Masior, B. and Szajkowski, T. (1998) "Mentorship Program for New Canadians", Mentorship Program for New Canadians, Ottawa: Cledon Institute of Social Policy.

Silveira-Wojtowicz, E. (1999) "An Inventory of Immigrant Professionals and Skilled Trades Project in the London Area", London, Ontario, Sponsored by The Coalition of Canadian Immigrants and WIL Counselling and Training for Employment, funded by the Ministry of Education and Training.

Silverman, M. (1992) Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism and Citizenship in Modern France, London: Routledge.

Simich, L. (2000) "Towards A Greater Toronto Charter: Implications for Immigrant Settlement", Toronto: *The Maytree Foundation.*

Simmons, A. (1997) Canadian Immigration and Nation-Building: Social and political implications of recent trends *in* Redefining Canada, A Prospective Look at Our Country in the 21st Century (*Eds*., Hebert, R., M. and Theberge, R.) Winnipeg: Presses Universitaires de saint-Boniface, 43-72.

Simmons, A. B. and Keohane, K. (1992) Canadian Immigration Policy: State strategies and the quest for legitimacy, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* 29, 4, 421-452.

Skeggs, B. (1994) Situating the production of feminist ethnography *in* Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective (*Eds*., Maynard, M. and Purvis, J.), London: Taylor and Francis, 72-91.

Smith, E. and Jackson, A. (2002) "Does a Rising Tide Lift All Boats? The labour market experiences and incomes of recent immigrants, 1995 to 1998", February, 2002, Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Smith, M. (2001) Recognition of Foreign Credentials: A survey of recent community-based and research projects (C. 1995- 2001), Hull, Quebec: Department of Canadian Heritage, International Comparative Research Group, Strategic Research and Analysis (SRA).

Spencer, L. and Ritchie, J. (1994) Qualitative Data Analysis for Applied Policy Research *in* Analysing Qualitative Data (*Eds*., Bryman, A. and Burgess, G. R.), London, UK: Routledge.

Spradley, J. P. (1979) The Ethnographic Interview, New York: Holt, Rinhart and Winston.

Stafford, J. (1994) Welcome But Why? Recent changes in Canadian immigration policy *in* Perspectives on Canada's Population: An introduction to concepts and issues (*Eds*., Trovato, F. and Grindstaff, C. F.) Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration (2003) The Provincial Nominee Program: A Partnership to Atract Immigrants to All Parts of Canada, May 2003.

Stanley, L. and Wise, S. (1983) *Breaking out Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

_____ (1993) Breaking Out Again, London: Routledge.

Stanworth, J. and Curran, J. (1973) Management Motivation in the Smaller Business, Epping, UK: Gower.

Star, T. T. (2003) "Skilled Immigrants Left in Lurch: Not given much help to adapt. Skills, education end up wasted", *The Toronto Star*, Toronto, Ontario.

Starr, P. D. and Roberts, A. E. (1982) Community Structure and Vietnamese Refugee Adaptation: The significance of context, *International Migration Review,* 16, 595 - 609.

Statistics Canada (2005) Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and Prospects, Statistics Canada, Date Modified: 2005-08-09, (http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/background.htm, accessed date 10/08/05.

_____(2003) The Daily, February 11, 2003 (http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030211/d030211a.htm, accessed date 30/08/06).

_____(2003a) The Daily, September 4, 2003, Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, (www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030904/d030904a.htm, accessed date 12/09/05).

_____(2003b) Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada: Process, Progress and Prospects, October 2003 (http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/89-611-XIE2003001.pdf, accessed date 10/08/05).

_____(2003c) "2001 Census: Analysis series Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The changing mosaic", released January 21, 2003. Ottawa: Ministry of Industry Canada (http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/statcan/2001_census_analysis_96f0030-e/96F0030XIE2001008.pdf, accessed date 12/09/05).

_____(2003d) "The Changing Profile of Canada's Labour Force", 2001 Census: Analysis Series, Cat. No. 96F0030XIE2001009, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

_____(2003e) "Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The changing mosaic", Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic, Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

_____"Characteristics of Canada's Newest Immigrants", (www.statscan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/character.htm, accessed date 19/02/07).

_____ (2001a) (http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/paid/canada.cfm#5, Accessed date 12/10/05).

_____ (2001b) The Changing Profile of Canada's Labour Force: 2001 Census, analysis series, Statistics Canada, (http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/paid/canada.cfm, accessed date 12/10/05).

_____ (2001c) "Canada Year Book 2001", Canada Year Book 2001, Ottawa: Ministry of Industry.

_____ (2001d) "Population Projections for Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2000-2026", Cat. No. 91-520-XPB, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

_____ (2001e) Abroginal Peoples of Canada: Highlight Tables, 2001 Census, (http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/pop001.htm accessed date 12/03/07).

_____ (1994) "User Documentation for Public Use Micro-data File For Individuals, 1991 Census", Service No: 48-030E, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Stebbins, R. (1970) Career: The Subjective Approach, *Sociological Quarterly,* 11, 32-49.

Steier, F. (1991) Research and Reflexivity, London: Sage.

Stewart, C. J. and Cash, J. W. B. (1988) Interviewing Principles and Practices, Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Publishers.

Storey, R. (1991) Studying Work in Canada, *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* 16, 3, 241-262.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Suarez-Orozco, C. and Suarez-Orozco, M. M. (2001) Children of Immigration, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Swan, N., 1996, Comments on the Literature In Economics in Relation to the Policy Research Topics and the Conference Themes, Metropolis Literature Review, (http://canada.metropolis.net/research-policy/litreviews/swan_rev/swan_rev-04.html, accessed date 1/22/03.

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. (1979) An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict *in* The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations (*Eds*., Austin, W. G. and Worchel, S.), Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 33-48.

Taylor, C. (1995) "Dimensions of Diversity in Canadian Business: Building a business case for valuing ethnocultural diversity", Report no. 143-95, Ottawa: The Conference Board of Canada.

Taylor, C., Appiah, K. A., Habermas, J., Rockefeller, S. C., Walzer, M. and Wolf, S. (1994) Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Taylor, E. J. (1986) Differential Migration, Networks, Information and Risk *in* Research in Human Capital and Development, Vol. 4: Migration, Human Capital, and Development (*Ed.* , Stark, O.), Greenwich: JAI Press.

Teixeira, C. (1998) Cultural Resources and Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A case study of the Portuguese real estate industry in Toronto, *Canadian Geographer,* 42, 3, 267-281.

Temple, B. (1997) Watch Your Tongue: Issues in translation and cross-cultural research, *Sociology,* 31, 607-618.

The Conference Board of Canada (2003) "Appendix 9: London Outlook", Winter 2003, London: The Conference Board of Canada, Metropolitan Outlook, (www.londonedc.com/statpub/publications/pdf/EWI/Appendix_9.pdf, accessed date 11/07/06).

The Canadian Alliance of Education and Training Organisations (2004) Foreign Credential Recognition: An overview of practice in Canada, April, 2004, Ottawa: CAETO (www.caeto.ca/reports/FCRGuide.pdf, accessed date 21/11/06).

The Daily (2005) Canada's Visiblr Minority Population in 2017, March 22, 2005, (www.statscan.ca/Daily/English/050322/d050322b.htm, accessed date 08/02/07).

_____ (2003) Census of Population: Labour force activity, occupation, industry, class of worker, place of work, mode of transportation, language of work and unpaid work, Statistics Canada, February 11, 2003, (http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030211/d030211a.htm, accessed date 30/08/06).

The Maytree Foundation (2002) "List of Foreign Credentials Recognition Activities by Province/Territory", August 15, 2002, Ottawa: *The Maytree Foundation.*

_____(2001) Who Should Get In? Rethinking Immigration Priorities, Wednesday, February 28, 2001, Toronto: *The Maytree Foundation* (www.maytree.com/PDF_Files/WSGITorontoProgram.pdf, accessed date 16/03/02).

_____(2000) "Breif to the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration Regarding Bill C-11, Immigration and Refugee Protection Act", August 18, 2000, Toronto: *The Maytree Foundation* (http://www.maytree.com/PDF_Files/BriefBillC-31.pdf , date accesed 16/03/02).

The Monitor (2003) Immigrants in Canada Census 2001 Highlights, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Summer 2003, Feature Article (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/monitor/issue02/06-feature.html, accessed date 29/07/05).

The Vancouver Sun (2001) "Skilled-worker Shortage Demands Solutions", March 10, 2001, A18.

Thomas, D. (1990) *Immigrant Integration and Canadian Identity,* Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada.

_____(1992) The Social Integration of Immigrants in Canada *in* The Immigration Dilemma (*Ed.* , Globerman, S.), Vancouver, B.C. : The Fraser Institute, 211 - 260.

Thompson, E. N. (2000) "Immigrant Occupational Skill Outcomes and the Role of Region-of-Origin-Specific Human Capital", September 2000, Working Paper Series, Applied Research Branch of Strategic Policy, W-008E, Hull, Canada: Human Resources Development Canada, Publication Centre, (http://www11.sdc.gc.ca/en/cs/sp/arb/publications/research/2000-001263/2000-001263.pdf, accessed date 26/08/04).

Torczyner, J. and Brotman, S. (1995) Rapid Growth and Transformation: Demographic challenges facing the Jewish community of Greater Toronto, Montreal: McGill University.

Training and Development Associates (1999) "Reaching Our Full Potential: Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition for Foreign-trained Canadians", Ottawa: Canadian Labour Force Development Board.

Trempe, R. (1997) "Not Just Numbers: A Canadian Framework for Future Immigration", Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat (2005) Canada's Performance 2005: The government of Canada's contribution, 23, 11, 2005 (http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/report/govrev/05/cp-rc04_e.asp, accessed date 07, 10, 2006).

Turner, J. (1995) Economic Context and the Health Effects of Unemployment, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior,* 36, 213–229.

Ucarer, E. M. and Puchala, D. J. (1997) Immigration in Western Societies: Problems and Policies, London: Pinter.

UNESCO, Glossary of Migration Related Terms, (www.unesco.org/shs/migration/glossary, accessed date 17/02/06).

United Nation (1998) "Measures to improve the situation and ensure the human rights and dignity of all migrant workers", report of the working group of intergovernmental experts on the human rights of migrants submitted in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 1997/15. Commission on Human Rights, Fifty-fourth session, Intergovernmental working group of experts on the human rights of migrants (http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/TestFrame/e696166bf66373f3c125661800 46b9c6, accessed date 27/06/07).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1997) "Broad Survey on the Integration of Resettled Refugees: Overview", May 7, 1997, Geneva: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Valent, P. (2001) The Human Costs to Staff From Closure of a General Hospital: An example of the effects of the threat of unemployment and fragmentation of a valued work structure, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry,* 35, 150-154.

Vasta, E. and Castles, S. (1996) The Teeth are Smilling: The Persistence of Racism in Multicultural Australia, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Veugelers, W. P. J. and Klassen, R. T. (1994a) Continuity and Change in Canada's Unemployment-Immigration Linkage (1946-1993), *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* 19, 3, 351-569.

Veugelers, W. P. J. and Klassen, R. T. (1994b) Canadian Immigration Policy: A reply to Foot and Simmons, *Canadian Journal of Sociology,* 19, 4, 535-540.

Villar, E., Juan, J., Corominas, E., and Capelll, D. (2000) What Kind of Networking Strategy Advice Should Career Counsellors Offer University Graduates Searching for a Job? *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 28, 389-409.

Visweswaran, K. (1994) Fictions of Feminist Ethnography, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Wanberg, C. (1995) A Longitudinal Study of the Effects of Unemployment and Quality of Reemployment, *Journal of Vocational Behaviour,* 46, 40–54.

Ward, C. (1996) Acculturation: Handbook of Intercultural Training, Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Ward, C. and Kennedy, A. (1994) Acculturation Strategies, Psychological Adjustment, and Sociocultural Competence During Cross-cultural Transitions, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 18, 3, 329-343.

_____ (1993) Where's the "Culture" in Cross-cultural Transition? Comparative studies of sojourner adjustment, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 24, 221-249.

Warren, C. *et al.* (2003) After the Interview, *Qualitative Sociology,* 26, 1 (spring 2003), 93-110.

Wastl-Walter, D., Varadi, M. M. and Veider, F. (2003) Coping with Marginality: To stay or to go, *Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies,* 29, 5, 797-817.

Waters, L. E. and Moore, K. A. (2001) Coping With Economic Deprivation During Unemployment, *Journal of Economic Psychology,* 22, 461-482.

Watt, D. and Bloom, M. (2001) "Exploring the Learning Recognition Gap in Canada", Phase 1 Report, January 7, 2001, Recognizing Learning: The economic costs of not recognizing learning and learning credentials in Canada, Ottawa, Prepared by The Conference Board of Canada (http://www.conferenceboard.ca, accessed date 27/08/04).

Weber, M. (1978) Economy and Society, London: University of California Press.

_____(1949) The Methodology of the Social Sciences, New York: Free Press.

_____(1946) Science As a Vocation *in* From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (*Eds*., H. H. Gerth and Mills, C. W.), New York: Oxford University Press, 129-156.

Webster, S. W. (1996) A Historian's Perspective on Interviewing *in* The narrative study of lives: Vol.4. Ethics and Process (*Ed*., Josselson, R.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 187-206.

Weinfeld, M. (1988) Immigration and Canada's Population Future: A Nation-building Vision, Montreal: McGill, Department of Sociology.

Wellman, B. (1999) The network community: An introduction *in* Networks in the Global Village (*Ed*., Wellman, B.), Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1-48.

Weston, C., Gandell, T., Beauchamp, J., McAlpine, L., Wiseman, C. and Beauchamp, C. (2001) Analyzing Interview Data: The development and evolution of a coding system, *Qualitative Sociology,* 24, 3, 381-399.

Wetherell, M. and Potter, J. (1992) Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legislation of Exploitation, Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Wilkinson, S. and Kitzinger, C. (1996) Representing the Other: A Feminist and Psychology Reader, London: Sage.

William, J. (1890) Principles of Psychology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Wilson, K. and Portes, A. (1980) Immigrant Enclaves: An analysis of the labour market experiences of Cuban in Miami, *American Journal of Sociollogy,* 86, 295-315.

Winefield, A. H. (1995) Unemployment: Its psychological costs *in* International review of industrial and organizational psychology (*Eds*., Cooper, C. L. and Robertson, I. T.), New York: John Wiley & Sons, 169 - 213.

Wolf, D. (1996) Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork, Oxford: Westview Press.

Wolf, M. A. (1992) A Thrice-told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Worswick, C. (2004) "Immigrants' Declining Earnings: Reasons and remedies", April, 2004, Backgrounder no. 81, Ottawa, Ont.: C.D. Howe Institute (www.cdhowe.org, accessed date 13/08/06).

Young, E. and Lee, R. (1996) Fieldworker feelings as data: 'Emotion work' and 'feeling rules' in the first person accounts of sociological fieldwork *in* Health and the Sociology of Emotions (*Eds*., James, V. and Gabe, J.), Oxford: Blackwell, 97-114.

Young, I. M. (2000) Inclusion and Democracy, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, J. (2002) No Longer 'apart'? Multiculturalism Policy and Canadian Literature, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 33 (2), 88-116.

Zhao, J., Drew, D. and Murray, S. T. (2000) Knowledge Workers on the Move, *Perspectives on Labour and Income,* 12, 2, 32-46.

Zheng, X. and Berry, J. W. (1991) Psychological Adaptation of Chinese Sojourners in Canada, *International Journal of Psychology,* 26, 451–470.

Zhou, M. (1997) Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and recent research on the new second generation, *International Migration Review,* 31, 4, 975-1008.

Zimmer, C. and Aldrich, H. (1987) Resource Mobilsation Through Ethnic Networks: Kinship and friendship ties of shopkeepers in England, *Sociological Perspectives,* 30, 4, 422-455.

Zong, L. (2004) "International Transference of Human Capital and Occupational Attainment of Recent Chinese Professional Immigrants in Canada", PCERII (Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration) Working Paper Series, March, 2004, Working Paper No. WP03-04, University of Saskatchewan.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1A: THE SIX SELECTION FACTORS WITHIN THE CANADIAN POINTS SYSTEM

Factor One: Education[124]	**Max. 25**
You have a Master's Degree or Ph.D. **and** at least 17 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	25
You have two or more university degrees at the bachelor's level **and** at least 15 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	22
You have a three-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship **and** at least 15 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	22
You have a university degree of two years or more at the bachelor's level **and** at least 14 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	20
You have a two-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship **and** at least 14 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	20
You have a one-year university degree at the bachelor's level **and** at least 13 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	15
You have a one-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship **and** at least 13 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	15
You have a one-year diploma, trade certificate or apprenticeship **and** at least 12 years of full-time or full-time equivalent study.	12
You completed high school.	5
Factor Two: Official Languages[125]	**Max. 24**
1st Official Language	
High proficiency (per ability)	4
Moderate proficiency (per ability)	2
Basic proficiency (per ability)	1 or 2
No proficiency	0
Possible maximum (all 4 abilities)	16
2nd Official Language	
High proficiency (per ability)	2
Moderate proficiency (per ability)	2

[124] Selection points are awarded for educational credentials (for example, degrees or diplomas) and the number of years spent in full-time or full-time equivalent study. Full-time studies refers to at least 15 hours of instruction per week during the academic year, including any period of training in the workplace that forms part of the course of instruction. Whereas, full-time equivalent studies refers to the length of time that it would have taken to complete a program of study on a full-time basis, but was actually completed on a part-time or accelerated basis. The maximum number of points that may be earned is 25 points. To earn points in a category, you must meet all the conditions (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5-1.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

[125] Language proficiency refers to the ability to communicate and work in one or both of Canada's official languages. Proficiency in English, French or both is known to help in the Canadian labour market. Language proficiency is one of the six selection factors for skilled workers. Up to 24 points is awarded for basic, moderate or high proficiency in English and French. Points are awarded based on migrant's ability to: listen, speak, read, and write (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-3.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

Basic proficiency (per ability)	1 or 2
No proficiency	0
Possible maximum (all 4 abilities)	8
Factor Three: Experience[126]	**Max. 21**
1 year	15
2 years	17
3 years	19
4 years	21
Factor Four: Age[127]	**Max. 10**
21 to 49 years at time of application	10
Less 2 points for each year over 49 or under 21	
Factor Five: Arranged Employment In Canada[128]	**Max. 10**
If have a permanent job offer that has received a positive labour market opinion from HRSDC	10
If applying from within Canada and have a temporary work permit that was:	
Issued after receipt of a positive labour market opinion of job offer from HRSDC, or	10
If have a temporary work permit that was exempted from the requirement of obtaining a labour market	10

[126] Migrants are awarded selection points for the number of years they spent in full-time, paid work. Their jobs must be listed in the 'Skill Type 0' or 'Skill Levels A or B 'in the Canadian National Occupational Classification. The maximum number of points that may be earned for Work Experience is 21 points.
i) 1 year of experience (15 points), ii) 2 years (17 points), iii) 3 years (19 points), and iv) 4+ years (21 points) [http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5-2.html, accessed date 15/02/07].

[127] Migrants are awarded selection points based on their age at the time when the visa office receives their application. The maximum number of points that may be earned for age is 10 points.
- Less than 17 years of age (0 points)
- 17 years of age (2 points)
- 18 years of age (4 points)
- 19 years of age (6points)
- 20 years of age (8 points)
- 21 - 49 years of age (10 points)
- 50 years of age (8 points)
- 51 years of age (6 points)
- 52 years of age (4 points)
- 53 years of age (2 points)
- More than 53 years of age (0 points)

(http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5-3.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

[128] In some situations, migrants are awarded selection points for a job that they have arranged before applying for permanent residence. The maximum number of points that may be earned for Arranged Employment is 10 points (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/you-asked/section20.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

[129] In January 1994, Canada, the United States and Mexico launched the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA) and formed the world's largest free trade area [*Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trades Canada* (DFAIT), http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/nafta-alena/menu-en.asp, accessed date 15/02/07].

[130] Through *General Agreement on Trade in Services* (GATS) Canada has committed to facilitate market access for certain business people (*i.e.* business visitors,_professionals and intra-company transferees) who are service providers from more than 140 *World Trade Organization* (WTO) member countries in specified sectors. Under GATS qualified business people find it easier to enter Canada because they do

opinion from HRSDC on the basis of an international agreement (*e.g.*, NAFTA[129] and GATS[130]), a significant benefit to Canada (*e.g.*, intra-company transfer) or public policy on Canada's academic or economic competitiveness (*e.g.*, post-graduate work).	
Factor Six: Adaptability [131]	**Max. 10[132]**
Spouse's or common-law partner's education	3 - 5
Minimum one year full-time authorized work in Canada	5
Minimum two years full-time authorized post-secondary study in Canada	5
Have received points under the Arranged Employment in Canada factor	5
Family relationship in Canada	5
Total	**Max. 100**
Pass Mark	**67[133]**

Source: CIC (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

---

not need to obtain a labour market opinion from HRSDC confirmation or, in the case of a business visitor, a work permit (CIC, **http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/you-asked/section20.html**, accessed date, 15/02/07).

[131] Migrants are awarded selection points if they could show that they and their dependants can adapt easily to living in Canada. The maximum number of points that may be earned for adaptability is 10 points. Migrants can earn:

i) **Level of education** (for Spouse or common-law partner) **(3-5 points)**
- Secondary school (high school) diploma or less: 0 points
- A one-year diploma, trade certificate, apprenticeship, or university degree and at least 12 years of full-time or full-time equivalent studies: 3 points
- A two or three-year diploma, trade certificate, apprenticeship, or university degree and at least 14 years of full-time or full-time equivalent studies: 4 points
- A master's degree or PhD and at least 17 years of full-time or full-time equivalent studies: 5 points

ii) **Previous study in Canada (5 points)**
- If they, or their accompanying spouse or common-law partner, completed a program of full-time study of at least two years' duration at a post-secondary institution in Canada after 17 years of age and with a valid study permit. However, there is no need to have obtained an educational credential for these two years of study to earn these points.

iii) **Previous work in Canada (5 points)**
- If they, or their accompanying spouse or common-law partner, completed a minimum of one year of full-time work in Canada on a valid work permit.

iv) **Arranged employment (5 points)**
- They can earn five additional points if they have arranged employment as described in Factor 5: Arranged Employment.

v) **Relatives in Canada (5 points)**
- If they, or their accompanying spouse or common-law partner, have a relative (parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, child of a parent, sibling, child of a grandparent, aunt or uncle, or grandchild of a parent, niece or nephew) who is residing in Canada and is a Canadian citizen or permanent resident (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5-5.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

[132] Migrants can only count points from each category once and can claim points from a category either for themselves, or for their spouse or common-law partner, but not for both.

[133] In order to qualify to immigrate to Canada as a skilled worker the applicant's score should be the same or higher than the pass mark indicated by CIC (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/skilled/qual-5.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

NOTES ON THE POINT SYSTEM'S SELECTION CATEGORIES:

Education: Migrants are awarded points for the numbers of years they have spent in full-time paid work in the last 10 years. Prospective migrants are expected to have at least one year experience in a management occupation or in an occupation normally requiring university, college or technical training as set out under 'Skill Type 0' or 'Skill Level A' or 'B' of the *National Occupational Classification* (NOC) [Refer to Appendix 1B for the table]. They also must have enough money to support themselves and their dependants as they settle in Canada. Currently, 15 points are awarded for 1 year of experience and 21 points for 4+ years (*Ibid.*).

Official Language: Migrants are awarded points based on their age at the time of application. Within the current system, those between 21-49 years of age are preferred (10 points) while the second highest points are awarded to those who are 20 years of age or 50 years of age (8 points) (*Ibid.*).

Work Experience: Points are given for work experience in Canada as well as for job offers. The subtle change introduced through Bill C-11 rewards work rather than just employment. Therefore, unpaid experience(s) or internship(s) in Canada are rewarded immigration points (*Ibid.*).

Adaptability: This was a new criterion added to the points system. Within this criterion, migrants are awarded points if they can show they and their dependents can easily adapt to life in Canada. Points are given in several circumstances:

i) For spouse or common-law partner's level of education
ii) If the applicant or their spouse/partner (17 years of age or older) with a valid visa had studied in Canada and completed a program of full-time study of at least two years in duration at a post-secondary institution (PSI) in Canada (However, there is no need to obtain any educational credentials)
iii) A minimum of one year of full-time work experience in Canada on a valid work permit
iv) If the applicant has arranged employment, or
v) If the applicant or their spouse/partner have relatives (*i.e.* parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, child of a parent, sibling, child of a grandparent, aunt or uncle, or grandchild of a parent, and niece or nephew) who is residing in Canada and is a Canadian citizen or permanent resident (*Ibid.*).

APPENDIX 1B: THE NATIONAL OCCUPATION CLASSIFICATION LIST

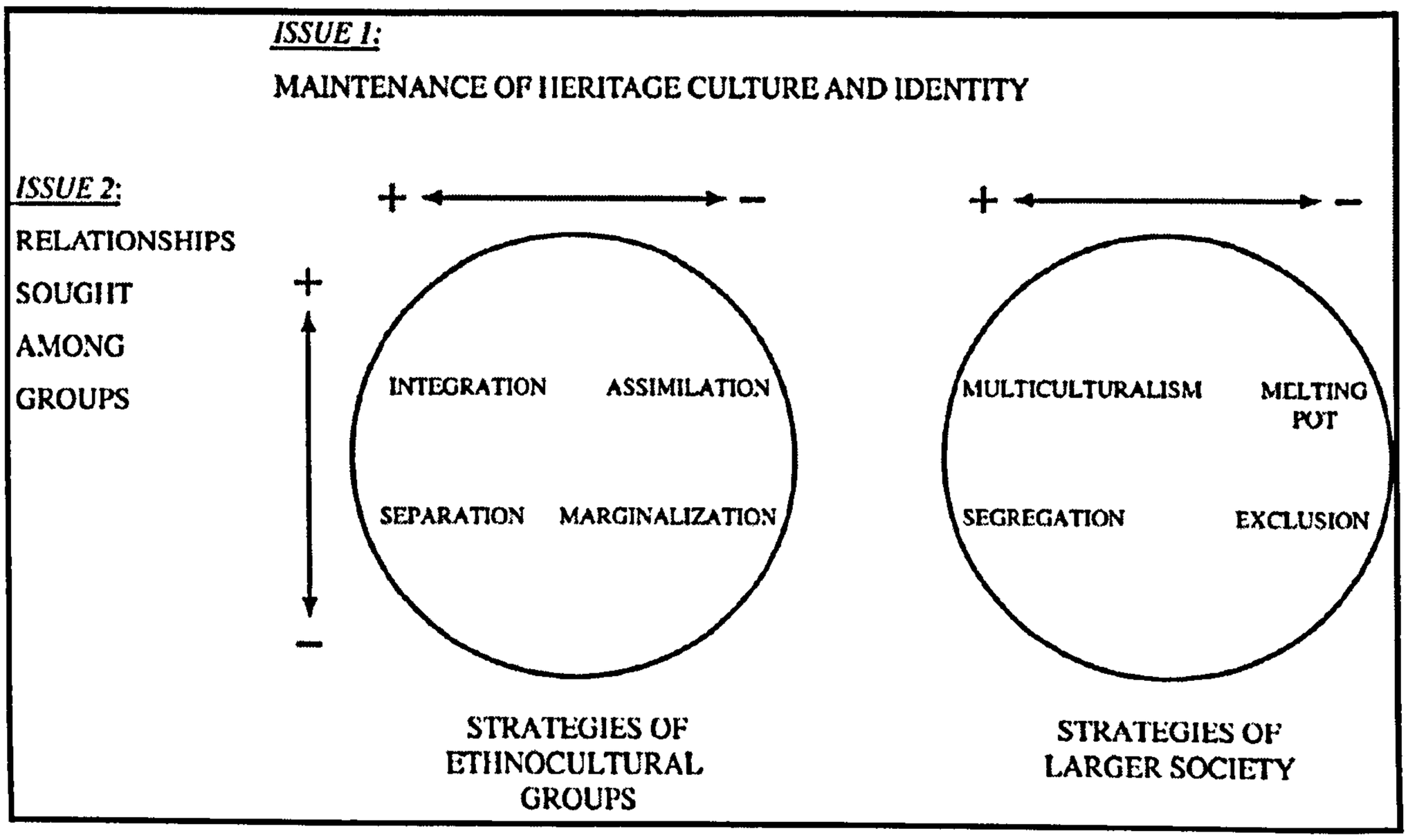
*Note: The following occupations are listed in Skill Type 0, Skill Level A or B of the National Occupation Classification List.

Code	A
0632	Accommodation Service Managers
5135	Actors and Comedians
1221	Administrative Officers
0114	Administrative Services Managers (other)
0312	Administrators - Post-Secondary Education and Vocational
2146	Aerospace Engineers
2222	Agricultural and Fish Products Inspectors
8252	Agricultural and Related Service Contractors and Managers
2123	Agricultural Representatives, Consultants and Specialists
2271	Air Pilots, Flight Engineers and Flying Instructors
2272	Air Traffic Control and Related Occupations
2244	Aircraft Instrument, Electrical and Avionics Mechanics, Technicians and Inspectors
7315	Aircraft Mechanics and Aircraft Inspectors
3234	Ambulance Attendants and Other Paramedical Occupations
5231	Announcers and Other Broadcasters
8257	Aquaculture Operators and Managers
2151	Architects
2251	Architectural Technologists and Technicians
0212	Architecture and Science Managers
5113	Archivists
5244	Artisans and Craftsperson's
1235	Assessors, Valuators and Appraisers
5251	Athletes
5225	Audio and Video Recording Technicians
3141	Audiologists and Speech-Language Pathologists
5121	Authors and Writers
7321	Automotive Service Technicians, Truck Mechanics and Mechanical Repairers
Code	**B**
6252	Bakers
0122	Banking, Credit and Other Investment Managers
2221	Biological Technologists and Technicians
2121	Biologists and Related Scientists
7266	Blacksmiths and Die Setters
7262	Boilermakers
1231	Bookkeepers

7281	Bricklayers
5224	Broadcast Technicians
4163	Business Development Officers and Marketing Researchers and Consultants
0123	Business Services Managers (other)
6251	Butchers and Meat Cutters - Retail and Wholesale

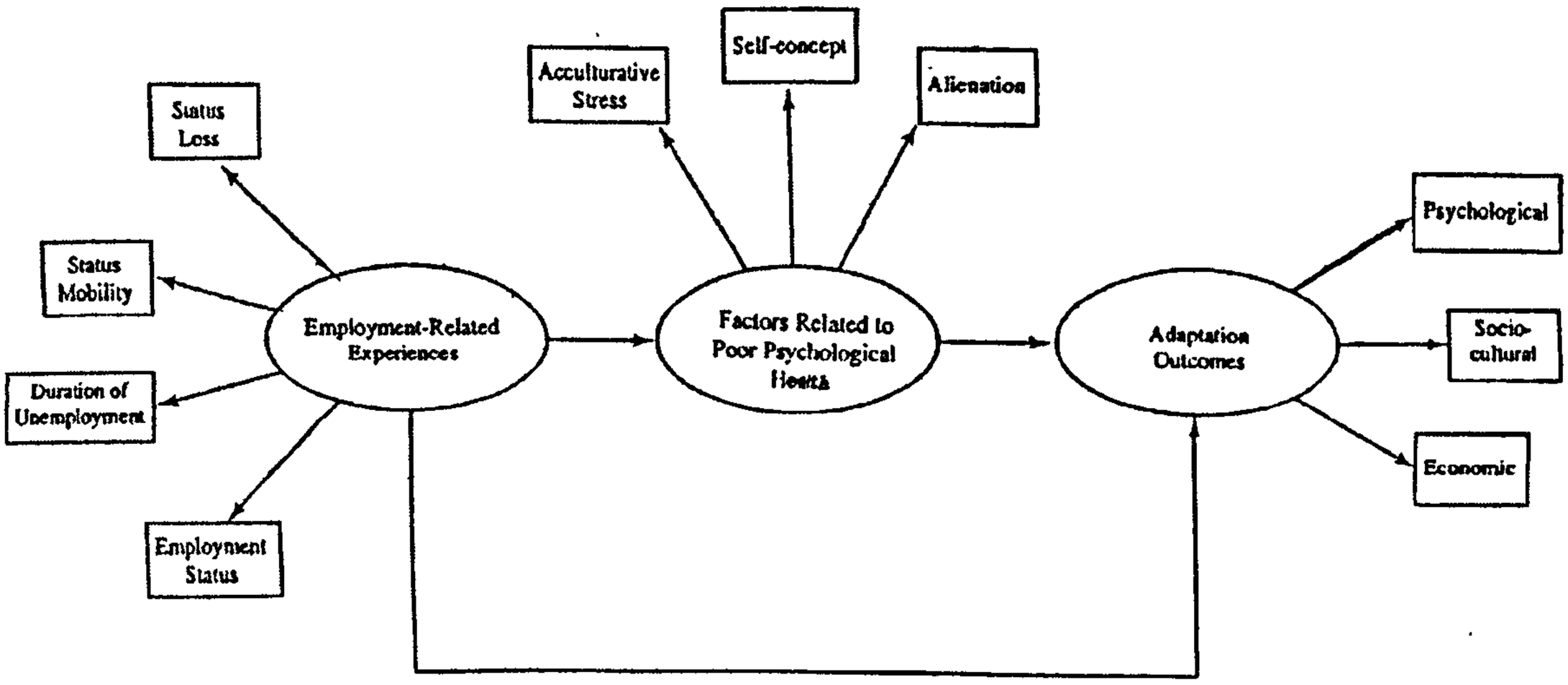
Source: CIC (http://www.cic.gc.ca/EnGLIsh/skilled/qual-2.html, accessed date 15/02/07).

APPENDIX 2: ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES FRAMEWORK



Source: Berry, 2006, "Fitting In: A place for immigrant teens in Canadian society", *The Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (CFHSS), Breakfast on the Hill seminar series, 23/11/06 (www.fedcan.ca/english/pdf/advocacy/fitting%20in.pdf, accessed date 01/02/2007).

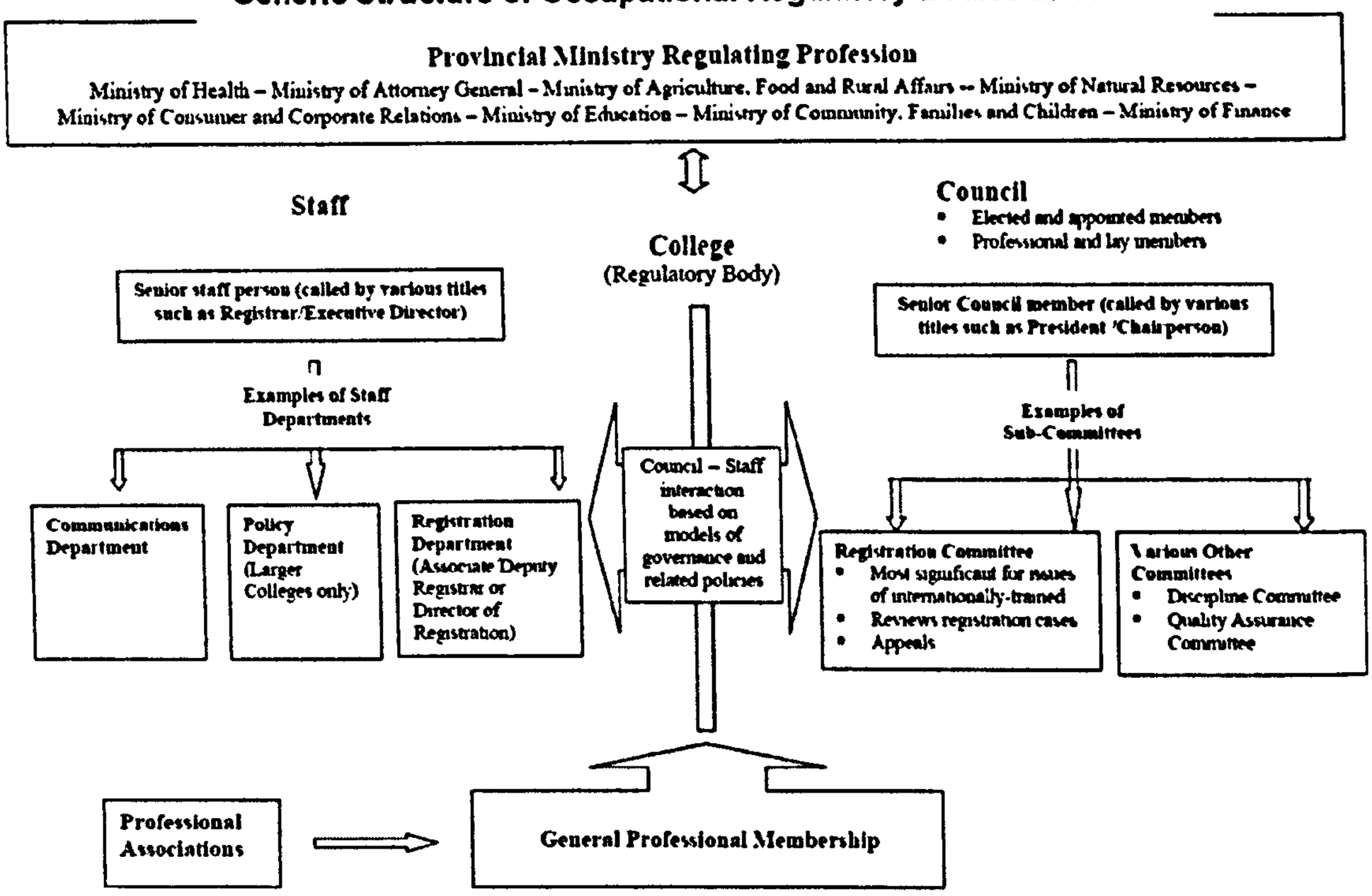
APPENDIX 3: AYCAN AND BERRY'S 'EMPLOYMENT AND ADAPTATION' CONCEPTUAL MODEL



Source: Aycan, Z. and Berry, J.W. (1996), Impact of employment-related experiences on psychological well-being and adaptation of immigrants Canadian, *Journal of Behavioural Science Special Issue on Ethnic Relations in a Multicultural Society*, 28, 3, 249.

APPENDIX 4: THE STRUCTURE OF OCCUPATIONAL REGULATORY BODIES IN ONTARIO

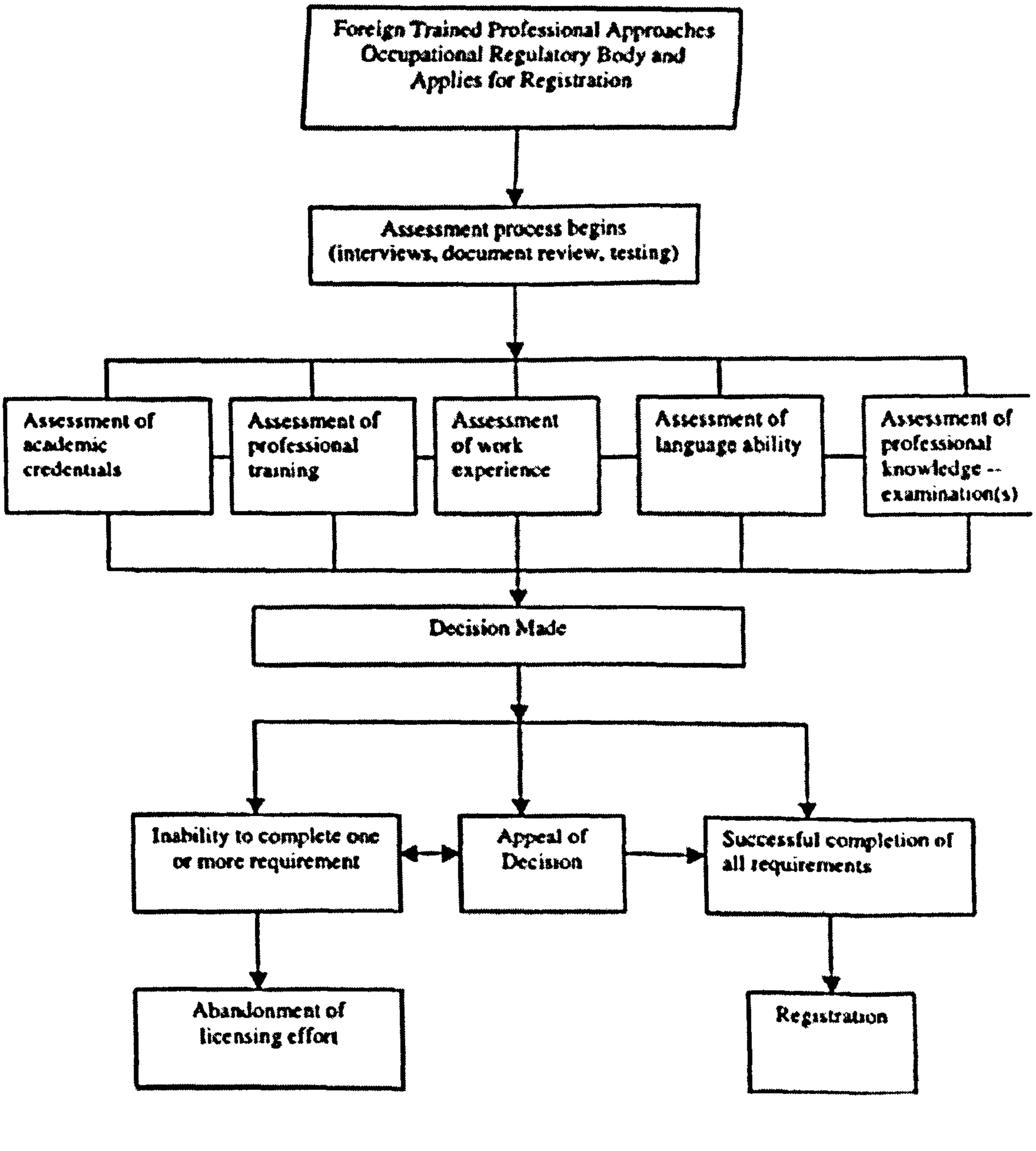
Generic Structure of Occupational Regulatory Bodies In Ontario



Source: Janzen, Azmi, and Chakkalakal (2001) Making a change together: A Resource handbook for promoting access to professions and trades for foreign-trained people in Ontario. Kitchener, ON: Centre for Research and Education in Human Services and Skills for Change (http://www.skillsforchange.org/library/downloads/making_a_change_together_2001.pdf, accessed date 01/02/2007).

APPENDIX 5: THE LICENSING PROCESS FOR PROFESSIONS IN ONTARIO

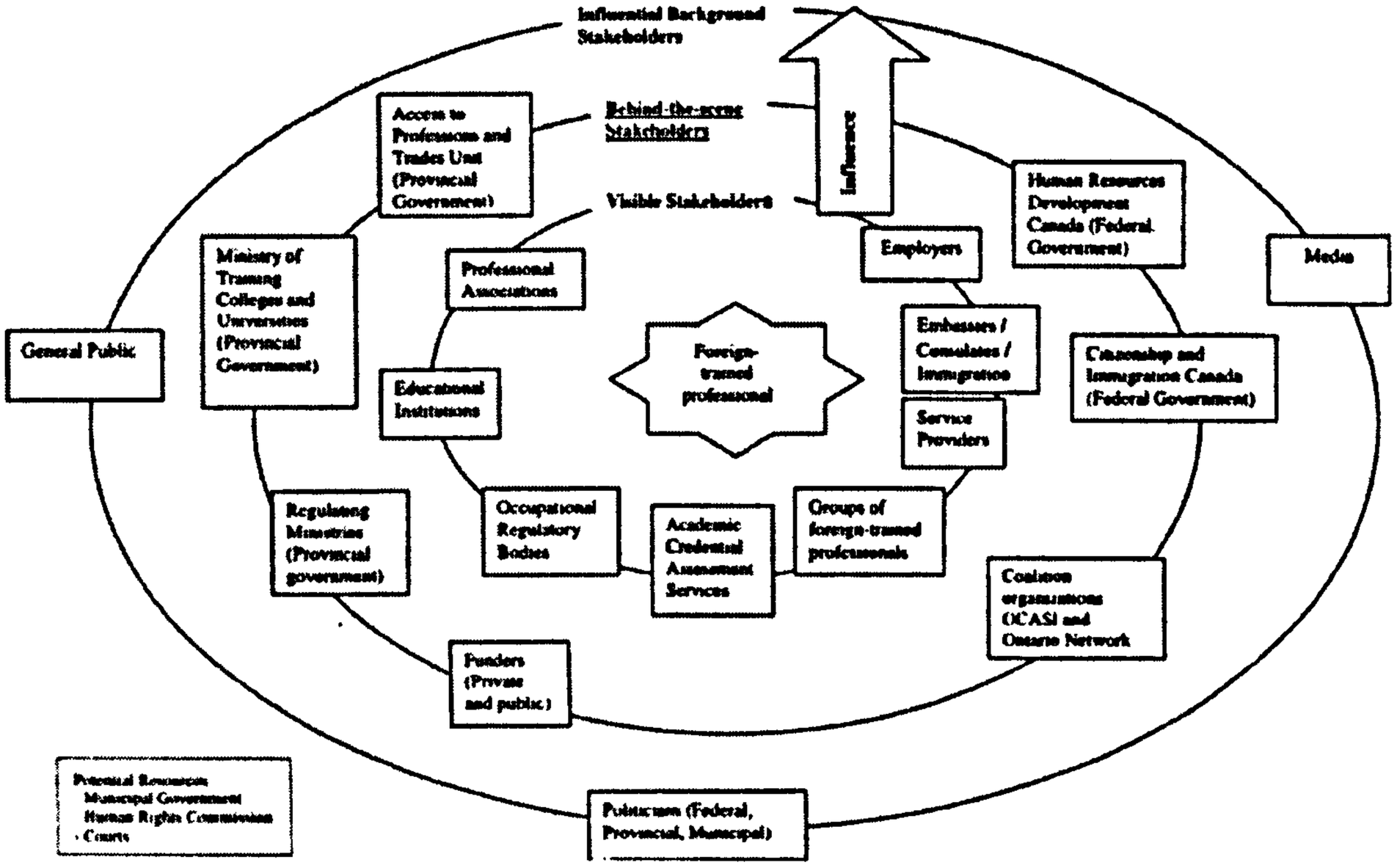
The licensing process for professions in Ontario



Source: Janzen, Azmi, and Chakkalakal (2001: 36)
(http://www.skillsforchange.org/library/downloads/making_a_change_together_2001.pdf, accessed date 01/02/07)

APPENDIX 6: THE WEB OF STAKEHOLDERS

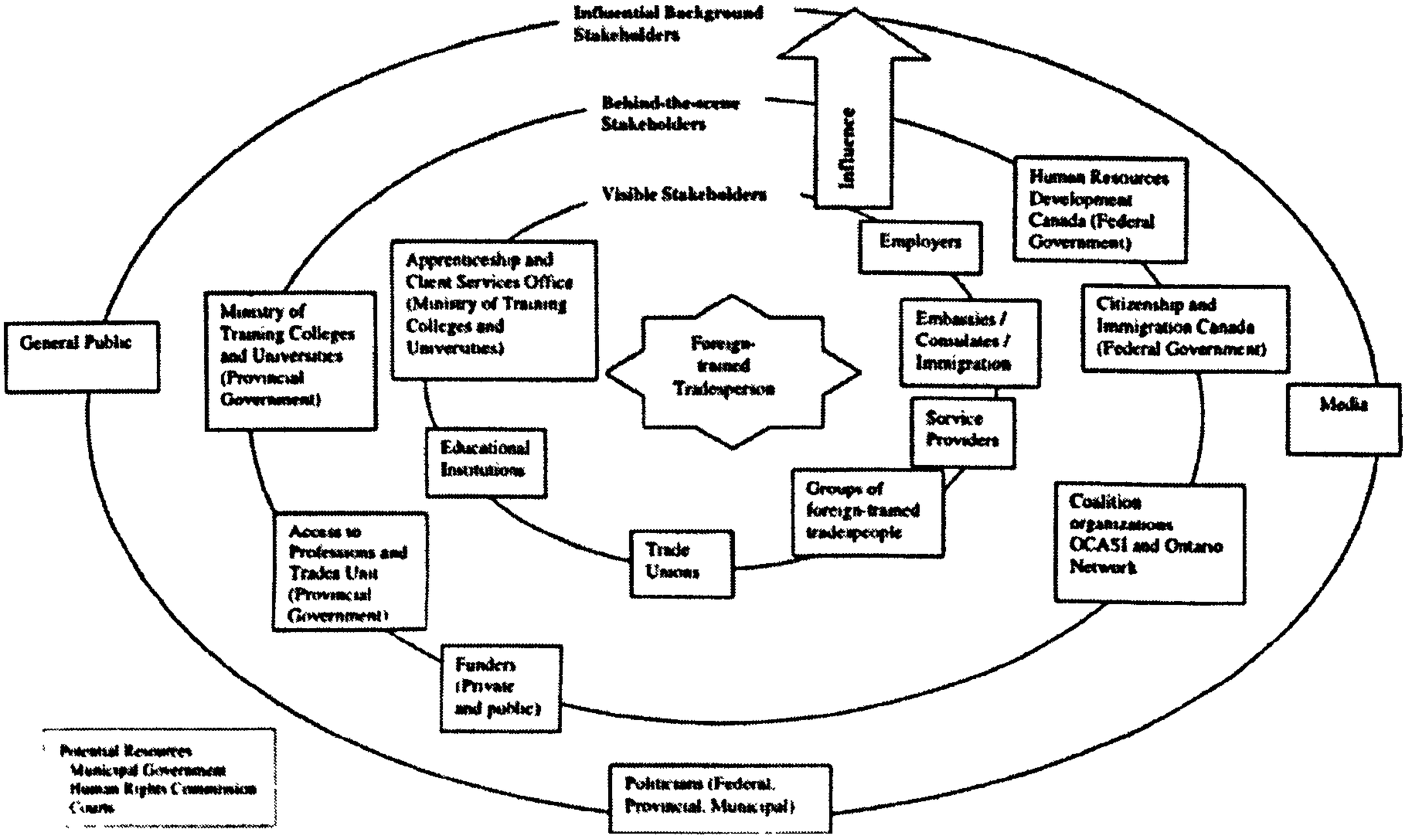
Web of stakeholders involved with foreign-trained professionals



Source: Janzen, Azmi, and Chakkalakal (2001: 46)
(http://www.skillsforchange.org/library/downloads/making_a_change_together_2001.pdf, accessed date 01/02/07).

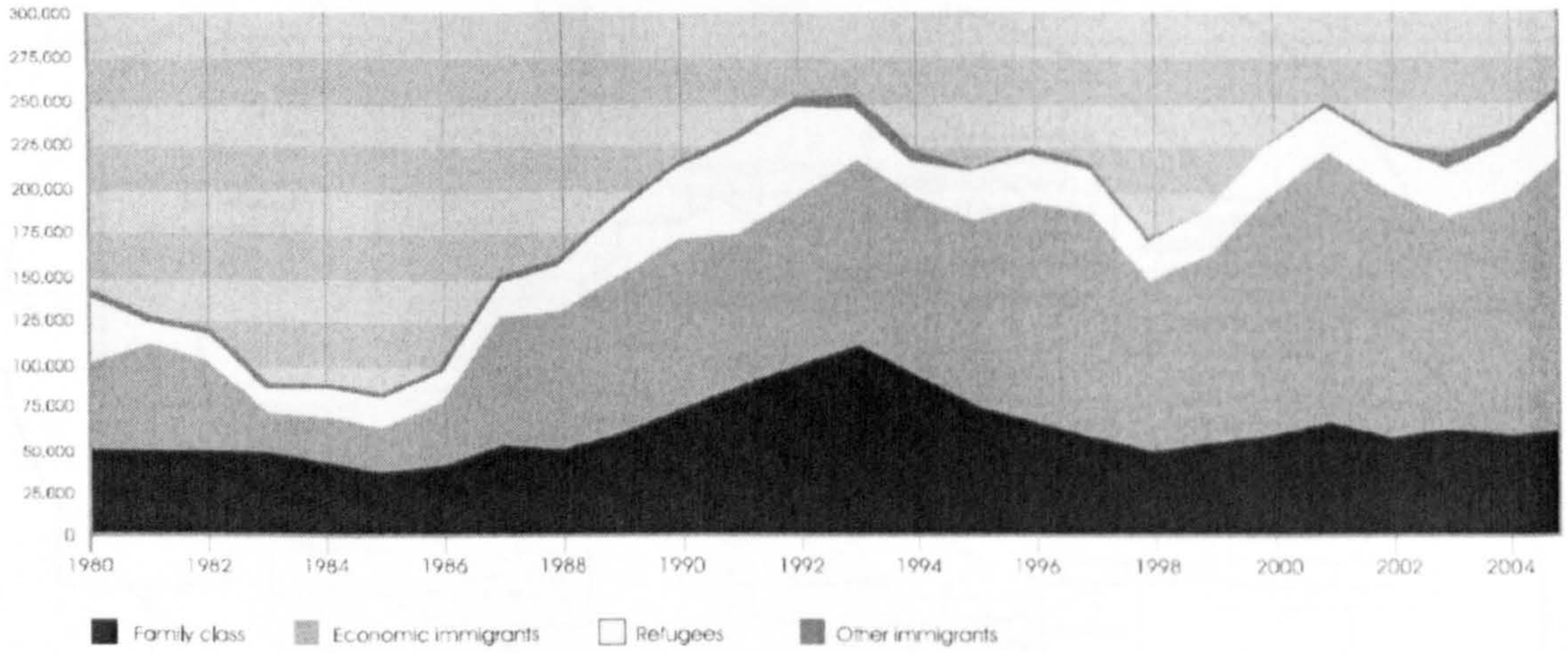
* *Note*: The stakeholder web is shown from the viewpoint of the FTPs (at the centre of the web) who are often unaware of the stakeholders around them.

Web of stakeholders involved with foreign-trained tradespeople



Source: Janzen, Azmi, and Chakkalakal (2001: 46)
(http://www.skillsforchange.org/library/downloads/making_a_change_together_2001.pdf, accessed date 01/02/07)

APPENDIX 7: CANADA'S MIGRANT PERMENANT RESIDENTS[134] BY IMMIGRATION CATEGORY, 1980 TO 2005



Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 10) [http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07].

[134] According to CIC, the data includes migrants who have been granted permanent resident status and have the right to enter and remain in Canada (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2004/glossary/index.html, accessed date 13/03/07).

APPENDIX 8: CIC'S CATEGORISATION OF MIGRANTS' SOURCE COUNTRIES

Five major world regions are identified as: i) Africa and the Middle East, ii) Asia and Pacific, iii) South and Central America, iv) the United States, and vi) Europe and the United Kingdom.

Africa and the Middle East

Africa
Algeria
Angola
Benin, Peoples Republic of
Botswana, Republic of
Burkina-Faso
Burundi
Cameroon, Federal Republic of
Cape Verde Islands
Central Africa Republic
Chad, Republic of
Comoros
Congo, People's Republic of the
Congo, Democratic Republic of
Djibouti, Republic of
Egypt
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Gabon Republic
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea Equatorial
Guinea, Republic of
Ivory Coast, Republic
Kenya
Lesotho
Liberia
Libya
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali, Republic of
Mauritania
Mauritius
Morocco
Mozambique
Namibia
New Caledonia
Niger, Republic of the
Nigeria
Reunion
Rwanda
Senegal
Seychelles
Sierra Leone
Somalia, Democratic Republic of
South Africa, Republic of
Tanzania, United Republic of
Togo, Republic of
Tunisia
Uganda
Zambia
Zimbabwe

Middle East
Bahrain
Cyprus
Iran
Iraq
Israel
Jordan
Kuwait
Lebanon
Palestinian Authority (Gaza/West Bank)
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Syria
United Arab Emirates
Yemen, People's Democratic Republic of
Yemen, Republic of

Asia and Pacific

Asia
Afghanistan
Bangladesh
Bhutan
Brunei
Cambodia
China, People's Republic of
Hong Kong
India
Indonesia, Republic of
Japan
Korea, People's Democratic Republic of
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Macao
Macau, SAR
Malaysia
Mongolia, Peoples Republic of
Myanmar (Burma)
Nepal
Oman
Pakistan
Philippines
Singapore
Sri Lanka
Taiwan
Thailand
Tibet
Vietnam, Socialist Republic of

Pacific
Australia
Fiji
French Polynesia
Maldives, Republic of
Nauru
New Zealand
Pacific Islands, US Trust Territory of the
Papau New Guinea
Samoa, Western
Tonga
Vanuatu

South and Central America

Antigua And Barbuda
Argentina
Aruba
Bahama Islands, The
Barbados
Belize
Bermuda
Bolivia
Brazil
Cayman Islands
Ecuador
El Salvador
Falkland Islands
French Guiana
Greenland
Grenada
Guadeloupe
Guatemala
Guyana
Haiti
Nevis
Nicaragua
Panama, Republic of
Paraguay
Peru
Puerto Rico
St. Kitts-Nevis
St. Lucia
St. Pierre and Miquelon
St. Vincent and the Grenadines

Chile	Honduras	Surinam
Colombia	Jamaica	Trinidad and Tobago
Costa Rica	Martinique	Uruguay
Cuba	Mexico	Venezuela
Dominica	Montserrat	Virgin Islands, British
Dominican Republic	Netherlands Antilles, The	

United States

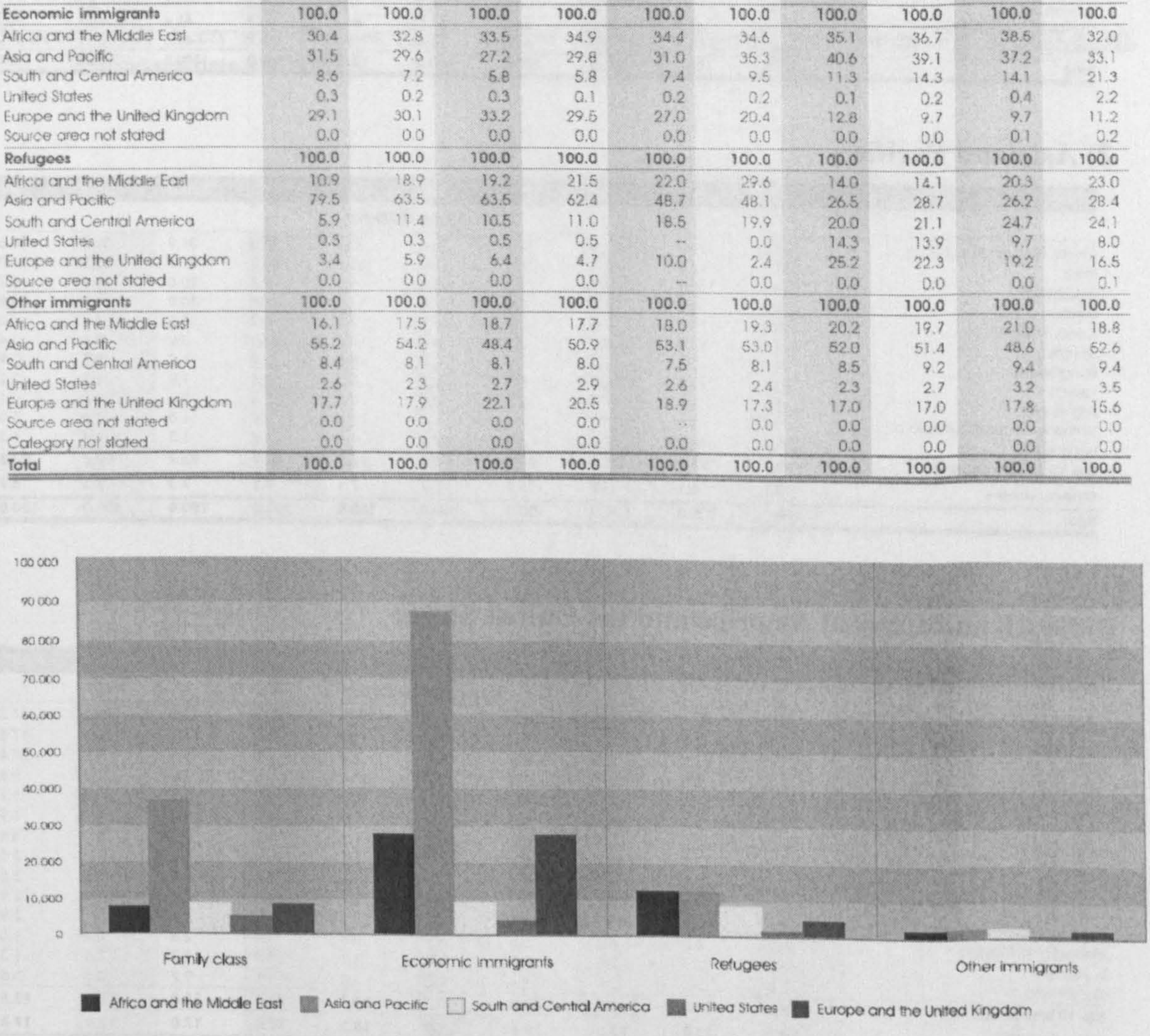
Europe and the United Kingdom

Albania	Germany	Poland
Andorra	Gibraltar	Portugal
Armenia	Greece	Romania
Austria	Hungary	Russia
Azerbaijan	Iceland	San Marino
Azores	Ireland, Republic of	Slovak Republic
Belarus	Italy	Slovenia
Belgium	Kazakhstan	Spain
Bosnia-Hercegovina	Kyrgyzstan	Sweden
Bulgaria	Latvia	Switzerland
Croatia	Liechtenstein	Tadjikistan
Czech Republic	Lithuania	Turkey
Czechoslovakia, former	Luxembourg	Turkmenistan
Denmark	Macedonia, Fyr	Ukraine
Estonia	Malta	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Fyr
Finland	Moldova	United Kingdom
France	Netherlands, The	Uzbekistan
Georgia	Norway	Yugoslavia

Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 111-112) [http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07].

APPENDIX 9: CANADA'S IMMIGRANT PERMANENT RESIDENTS BY CATEGORY AND SOURCE AREA 1996 to 2005 (Showing Percentage Distribution)

SOURCE AREA	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
Africa and the Middle East	10.5	10.1	10.1	10.6	11.6	11.7	10.3	11.5	12.7	12.0
Asia and Pacific	54.6	54.1	53.8	53.6	53.7	52.8	58.8	59.4	54.7	57.7
South and Central America	17.2	17.3	15.8	15.8	14.4	15.0	12.6	11.4	12.0	11.3
United States	4.6	4.2	5.1	5.3	5.3	5.4	4.5	4.6	6.0	6.5
Europe and the United Kingdom	13.2	14.4	15.2	14.7	15.0	15.1	13.9	13.2	14.6	12.4
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Family class	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	16.1	18.0	19.7	17.4	17.2	19.7	22.2	21.0	20.6	18.3
Asia and Pacific	60.2	58.7	60.1	54.1	57.7	56.3	51.7	51.4	49.7	56.1
South and Central America	3.6	3.8	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.8	5.8	6.0	6.3	5.3
United States	2.1	1.9	2.2	2.3	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.4	2.2	2.4
Europe and the United Kingdom	18.0	17.5	23.6	21.6	18.9	17.7	18.9	20.2	21.1	17.9
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Economic immigrants	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	30.4	32.8	33.5	34.9	34.4	34.6	35.1	36.7	38.6	32.0
Asia and Pacific	31.5	29.6	27.2	29.8	31.0	36.3	40.6	39.1	37.2	33.1
South and Central America	8.6	7.2	5.8	5.8	7.4	9.5	11.3	14.3	14.1	21.3
United States	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4	2.2
Europe and the United Kingdom	29.1	30.1	33.2	29.5	27.0	20.4	12.8	9.7	9.7	11.2
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Refugees	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	10.9	18.9	19.2	21.5	22.0	29.6	14.0	14.1	20.3	23.0
Asia and Pacific	79.5	63.5	63.5	62.4	48.7	48.1	26.5	28.7	26.2	28.4
South and Central America	5.9	11.4	10.5	11.0	18.5	19.9	20.0	21.1	24.7	24.1
United States	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5	--	0.0	14.3	13.9	9.7	8.0
Europe and the United Kingdom	3.4	5.9	6.4	4.7	10.0	2.4	25.2	22.3	19.2	16.5
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	--	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Other immigrants	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	16.1	17.5	18.7	17.7	18.0	19.3	20.2	19.7	21.0	18.8
Asia and Pacific	55.2	54.2	48.4	50.9	53.1	53.0	52.0	51.4	48.6	52.6
South and Central America	8.4	8.1	8.1	8.0	7.5	8.1	8.5	9.2	9.4	9.4
United States	2.6	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.7	3.2	3.5
Europe and the United Kingdom	17.7	17.9	22.1	20.5	18.9	17.3	17.0	17.0	17.8	15.6
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	..	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Category not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**



Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 28) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

APPENDIX 10: CANADA'S PERMANENT RESIDENTS BY REGION AND TOP SOURCE COUNTRIES, 1996 to 2005

1) Africa and the Middle East

SOURCE COUNTRIES	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
Iran	16.0	19.8	20.8	17.6	13.7	11.9	17.0	12.9	12.2	11.2
United Arab Emirates	6.3	7.4	5.6	5.2	7.5	9.4	9.6	7.6	8.8	8.2
Algeria	4.7	4.3	5.9	6.1	6.2	6.2	6.5	6.4	6.5	6.4
Lebanon	5.0	3.3	3.8	4.2	4.1	4.3	3.7	6.0	5.4	6.3
Morocco	2.3	2.8	3.6	5.3	6.3	8.2	8.8	7.4	7.0	5.5
Israel	7.0	5.6	5.9	7.2	6.4	5.1	5.6	5.4	5.8	5.2
Saudi Arabia	6.8	8.7	6.2	4.7	5.0	7.4	5.5	4.7	4.3	4.8
Egypt	6.6	5.4	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.0	3.5	4.4	4.1	4.2
Nigeria	1.4	1.8	2.2	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.1	2.8	4.1
Congo,Democratic Republic of	2.1	1.7	2.3	2.6	2.8	2.4	2.2	2.6	2.8	2.8
Iraq	5.0	5.1	4.3	4.2	3.4	3.3	3.0	2.2	2.3	2.7
Kuwait	4.0	3.9	3.6	2.2	3.0	3.6	2.0	2.5	1.9	2.3
South Africa, Republic of	4.3	5.5	5.0	5.1	4.8	4.3	3.5	3.3	2.7	2.2
Ghana	3.2	3.3	3.2	2.4	2.5	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.7	2.2
Sudan, Republic of	1.5	2.2	2.2	1.6	1.9	2.4	3.0	3.5	3.0	2.1
Somalia, Democratic Republic of	3.3	2.5	4.0	4.5	3.3	2.1	1.3	1.8	2.4	2.0
Zimbabwe	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.6	2.9	1.3
Top 10 source countries	**65.6**	**68.9**	**65.5**	**64.0**	**61.5**	**64.4**	**66.7**	**61.6**	**60.1**	**58.6**
Other countries	**34.4**	**31.1**	**34.5**	**36.0**	**38.5**	**35.6**	**33.3**	**38.4**	**39.9**	**41.4**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

2) Asia and Pacific

SOURCE COUNTRIES	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
China, Peoples Republic of	14.1	15.8	23.5	30.2	30.4	30.4	28.0	31.9	31.8	30.6
India	17.1	16.8	18.3	18.1	21.6	21.0	24.2	21.6	22.3	24.0
Philippines	10.5	9.3	9.7	9.5	8.4	9.7	9.3	10.5	11.6	12.7
Pakistan	6.2	9.6	9.6	9.6	11.8	11.6	11.9	10.9	11.2	9.8
Korea, Republic of	2.5	3.4	5.8	7.5	6.3	7.2	6.2	6.2	4.7	4.2
Sri Lanka	4.9	4.3	4.0	4.9	4.8	4.2	4.2	3.9	3.6	3.4
Bangladesh	2.0	2.5	2.3	1.9	2.3	2.6	2.2	1.7	2.1	2.9
Taiwan	10.6	11.4	8.5	5.7	2.9	2.3	2.4	1.9	1.7	2.2
Afghanistan	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.7	2.2	2.1
Vietnam, Socialist Republic of	2.0	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.3
Hong Kong	24.0	19.0	9.6	3.8	2.4	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3
Top 10 source countries	**93.9**	**93.9**	**93.3**	**93.3**	**93.3**	**92.9**	**92.7**	**92.7**	**92.8**	**93.3**
Other countries	**6.1**	**6.1**	**6.7**	**6.7**	**6.7**	**7.1**	**7.3**	**7.3**	**7.3**	**6.7**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

3) South and Central America and the United States

SOURCE COUNTRIES	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
United States	23.7	22.4	25.4	26.6	25.5	22.6	21.4	22.8	25.2	27.3
Colombia	1.5	2.5	4.9	6.2	9.8	11.4	13.0	16.2	14.9	17.8
Mexico	5.0	7.7	7.4	8.3	7.3	7.4	7.8	6.6	7.5	8.4
Jamaica	13.3	12.6	11.9	11.3	10.8	10.6	9.9	7.5	7.2	5.6
Haiti	7.8	7.2	6.8	6.9	7.2	9.5	9.0	7.4	5.6	5.1
Peru	3.4	3.0	2.5	2.6	2.7	3.3	3.5	3.9	4.9	4.9
Venezuela	2.2	3.2	2.8	2.3	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.7	4.2	3.6
Guyana	9.3	7.8	6.3	6.4	5.6	6.4	5.8	5.3	4.4	3.5
Argentina	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.4	3.4	6.6	5.5	3.5
Cuba	2.1	2.6	2.8	3.3	3.7	3.7	3.5	3.3	2.9	2.9
Brazil	2.4	2.7	2.9	3.1	3.7	3.3	3.1	3.3	3.1	2.9
Trinidad and Tobago	8.9	8.0	6.4	5.6	3.9	3.5	3.8	2.6	2.4	2.5
El Salvador	2.9	2.7	2.5	2.0	2.4	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.5	1.3
Guatemala	2.8	2.4	2.0	1.4	1.5	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.6
Top 10 source countries	**79.3**	**77.3**	**77.6**	**80.2**	**80.1**	**81.7**	**81.0**	**83.0**	**82.6**	**82.5**
Other countries	**20.7**	**22.8**	**22.5**	**19.8**	**19.9**	**18.3**	**19.0**	**17.0**	**17.4**	**17.5**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

4) Europe and the United Kingdom

SOURCE COUNTRIES	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
United Kingdom	14.0	12.0	10.1	11.5	10.8	12.4	12.2	13.8	14.5	14.3
France	8.4	7.4	10.0	10.1	10.1	10.2	10.2	11.0	12.0	13.3
Romania	9.2	10.1	7.7	8.9	10.3	12.9	14.6	14.6	13.5	12.1
Russia	6.2	9.7	11.2	9.7	8.2	9.4	9.5	9.4	8.8	8.8
Germany	6.3	5.5	5.4	7.4	5.5	4.3	4.2	5.6	5.7	6.4
Ukraine	6.6	6.4	6.9	7.2	7.7	8.3	9.2	7.4	5.7	5.7
Turkey	1.6	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.6	2.8	3.5	3.8	4.3	5.0
Bulgaria	1.9	1.7	2.0	1.9	2.6	2.7	3.8	3.8	4.6	4.1
Albania	0.3	0.7	1.4	3.1	4.1	3.7	2.5	2.2	3.3	3.0
Poland	5.2	4.4	3.8	3.3	3.1	2.7	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.0
Netherlands	2.6	1.9	1.8	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.3
Yugoslavia (former)	4.6	3.6	3.0	3.8	11.0	6.5	4.2	2.5	1.7	0.7
Bosnia-Herzegovina	12.8	9.9	9.6	7.2	2.3	2.0	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.5
Croatia	2.3	3.2	3.7	3.5	2.2	1.2	0.9	0.5	..	..
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (former)	1.1	3.1	3.6	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	..	..
Top 10 source countries	**75.8**	**72.1**	**71.9**	**72.7**	**73.5**	**73.3**	**74.2**	**74.7**	**75.6**	**75.7**
Other countries	**24.2**	**27.9**	**28.1**	**27.3**	**26.5**	**26.8**	**25.9**	**25.3**	**24.4**	**24.3**
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 33-36) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

APPENDIX 11: CANADA'S PERMANENT RESIDENTS BY PROVINCE OR TERRITORY AND URBAN AREA (1996 to 2005)

URBAN AREA	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
St. John's	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Other Newfoundland and Labrador	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Newfoundland and Labrador	**0.3**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.3**	**0.2**
Charlottetown	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other Prince Edward Island	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Prince Edward Island	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**
Halifax	1.3	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
Other Nova Scotia	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Nova Scotia	**1.4**	**1.3**	**1.2**	**0.8**	**0.7**	**0.7**	**0.6**	**0.7**	**0.8**	**0.7**
Moncton	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Saint John	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Fredericton	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other New Brunswick	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
New Brunswick	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.4**	**0.4**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.4**
Quebec	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.8
Sherbrooke	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3
Trois-Rivières	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Montréal	11.1	11.1	12.8	13.2	12.5	13.1	14.8	15.3	16.1	14.2
Ottawa-Gatineau	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
Other Quebec	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.8
Quebec	**13.2**	**12.9**	**15.3**	**15.4**	**14.3**	**15.0**	**16.4**	**17.9**	**18.8**	**16.5**
Ottawa-Gatineau	2.6	2.7	3.0	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.4
Kingston	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Peterborough	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Oshawa	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
Toronto	43.2	45.8	43.9	44.5	48.4	49.9	48.8	44.1	42.4	43.0
Hamilton	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.7
St. Catharines-Niagara	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7
Kitchener	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.1
Brantford	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Guelph	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3
London	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.2
Windsor	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2
Sarnia-Clearwater	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Barrie	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Sudbury	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Thunder Bay	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Other Ontario	1.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.0
Ontario	**53.0**	**54.5**	**53.0**	**54.8**	**58.7**	**59.3**	**58.3**	**54.1**	**53.1**	**53.6**
Winnipeg	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.7	2.3	2.5	2.4
Other Manitoba	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.7
Manitoba	**1.7**	**1.7**	**1.7**	**2.0**	**2.0**	**1.8**	**2.0**	**2.9**	**3.2**	**3.1**
Regina	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2
Saskatoon	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Other Saskatchewan	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Saskatchewan	**0.8**	**0.8**	**0.9**	**0.9**	**0.8**	**0.7**	**0.7**	**0.8**	**0.8**	**0.8**
Lethbridge	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Calgary	3.1	3.2	3.5	3.6	3.7	4.1	4.0	4.2	4.0	4.3
Red Deer	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Edmonton	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.2	2.1	2.3
Other Alberta	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6
Alberta	**6.1**	**5.9**	**6.4**	**6.4**	**6.3**	**6.6**	**6.4**	**7.2**	**7.0**	**7.4**
Kelowna	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Kamloops	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Chilliwack	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Abbotsford	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5
Vancouver	20.6	20.1	18.4	17.1	14.6	13.7	13.1	13.9	13.9	15.0
Victoria	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5
Nanaimo	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Prince George	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other British Columbia	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.7
British Columbia	**23.0**	**22.1**	**20.7**	**19.0**	**16.5**	**15.4**	**14.9**	**15.9**	**15.7**	**17.1**
Whitehorse	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Yukon	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Yukon	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
Yellowknife	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other Northwest Territories	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Northwest Territories	**0.0**	**0.1**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
Nunavut	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
Province or territory not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 39) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

APPENDIX 12: CANADA'S ANNUAL FLOW OF HUMANITARIAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE OR TERRITORY AND URBAN AREA, 1996 to 2005

URBAN AREA	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
Halifax	0.2	0.3	0.2	1.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1
Other Nova Scotia	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.8	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nova Scotia	**0.5**	**0.6**	**0.5**	**3.0**	**0.4**	**0.4**	**0.4**	**0.3**	**0.2**	**0.2**
New Brunswick	**0.2**	**0.2**	**0.2**	**2.9**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**
Other Atlantic provinces*	**0.4**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.1**	**0.1**
Québec	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Montréal	21.7	20.2	17.5	13.2	14.3	14.0	14.0	12.6	14.5	8.8
Other Quebec	23.4	17.0	17.9	16.3	13.7	13.6	12.0	8.0	6.5	9.4
Quebec	**45.2**	**37.3**	**35.5**	**29.6**	**28.1**	**27.7**	**26.0**	**20.7**	**21.1**	**18.3**
Ottawa-Gatineau	1.7	1.9	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.2	1.2	0.8
Toronto	22.4	24.3	25.3	24.6	30.9	28.5	31.8	35.1	36.2	22.6
Hamilton	0.4	0.9	1.5	2.8	2.1	3.1	1.6	1.4	1.5	0.6
London	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.7	1.3	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.6	0.6
Other Ontario	16.8	19.4	18.1	21.5	24.7	27.2	25.0	28.3	27.3	42.4
Ontario	**41.8**	**47.2**	**47.5**	**51.5**	**60.8**	**62.2**	**61.8**	**68.1**	**68.8**	**66.9**
Winnipeg	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2
Other Manitoba	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3
Manitoba	**0.5**	**0.7**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.4**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.5**	**0.5**
Regina	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	--	0.0	0.0
Other Saskatchewan	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	--	0.2	0.1
Saskatchewan	**0.4**	**0.4**	**0.3**	**0.5**	**0.2**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.1**	**0.2**	**0.1**
Calgary	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.2	1.0	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.5
Edmonton	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
Other Alberta	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.8
Alberta	**1.7**	**1.8**	**2.6**	**2.0**	**1.9**	**1.9**	**2.0**	**1.9**	**1.9**	**1.6**
Vancouver	4.2	4.3	5.1	4.2	3.2	3.2	2.9	2.3	1.8	1.5
Other British Columbia	4.9	6.9	6.8	5.4	4.5	3.6	3.1	2.9	2.8	3.7
British Columbia	**9.2**	**11.3**	**11.9**	**9.6**	**7.7**	**6.8**	**6.1**	**5.2**	**4.5**	**5.2**
Territories**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**0.0**
Province or territory not stated	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.3	2.9	2.9	2.6	7.0
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

* Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island
** Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut

Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 97) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

APPENDIX 13: CANADA'S MIGRANT PERMANENT RESIDENTS BY PROVINCIAL/TERRITORIAL REGIONS AND SOURCE AREA (1996 to 2005)

SOURCE AREA	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
	Percentage distribution									
Africa and the Middle East	47.7	48.1	44.7	32.5	42.2	42.4	38.6	42.0	42.3	37.8
Asia and Pacific	31.8	32.0	31.6	28.5	22.5	20.8	28.8	24.6	22.8	28.8
South and Central America	3.0	2.2	2.2	5.0	4.1	4.9	6.9	4.8	6.7	4.4
United States	3.1	3.4	4.3	6.7	6.9	7.5	7.1	8.4	9.9	8.2
Europe and the United Kingdom	14.4	14.4	17.4	27.3	24.3	24.4	18.7	20.1	18.2	20.7
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Nova Scotia	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	18.4	19.6	22.6	17.8	32.1	34.0	31.7	29.5	26.3	20.4
Asia and Pacific	30.8	27.3	36.2	37.4	22.4	25.1	30.6	31.3	38.5	43.3
South and Central America	5.4	5.2	5.4	6.4	6.1	7.3	9.2	8.6	7.3	8.6
United States	11.6	12.6	7.5	7.2	6.8	8.6	8.8	9.7	10.0	8.9
Europe and the United Kingdom	33.8	35.4	28.3	31.2	32.6	25.0	19.8	21.0	17.7	18.9
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Other Atlantic provinces*	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	24.0	22.6	24.6	27.7	29.8	32.8	32.6	31.9	31.9	32.0
Asia and Pacific	30.1	32.6	29.3	29.0	26.7	26.0	23.2	22.2	20.9	20.4
South and Central America	15.5	14.3	12.5	13.1	12.9	14.8	14.6	17.3	17.7	19.2
United States	1.9	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.8	1.8	1.7
Europe and the United Kingdom	28.5	29.0	32.2	28.6	27.1	25.1	28.2	26.8	27.7	26.7
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Quebec	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	17.8	19.0	20.0	17.8	17.1	17.9	19.1	18.6	20.3	18.3
Asia and Pacific	53.1	52.4	46.4	50.9	55.3	56.1	55.7	55.4	52.5	56.2
South and Central America	10.0	9.4	9.2	8.8	7.7	7.9	8.4	8.5	8.7	8.9
United States	2.4	2.1	2.7	2.9	2.5	2.2	2.1	2.6	3.1	3.7
Europe and the United Kingdom	16.8	17.1	21.8	19.6	17.5	15.8	14.8	15.0	15.4	13.0
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Ontario	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	12.6	16.9	15.1	16.8	22.5	23.7	20.7	20.7	22.5	19.4
Asia and Pacific	49.2	46.4	38.9	38.6	37.3	39.6	44.6	41.5	44.0	47.0
South and Central America	7.1	7.4	8.5	6.1	5.7	5.8	9.0	9.5	7.6	6.9
United States	3.5	3.7	3.4	4.1	2.1	2.9	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.6
Europe and the United Kingdom	27.6	25.6	34.1	34.5	32.3	28.0	23.4	26.2	23.9	24.2
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Manitoba	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	18.0	25.5	23.7	18.9	26.9	29.8	30.6	29.3	30.0	26.0
Asia and Pacific	39.0	34.9	35.7	38.6	38.2	41.1	41.6	36.3	37.8	40.2
South and Central America	3.4	3.6	3.3	4.2	2.8	3.0	3.2	5.9	4.5	6.6
United States	7.2	7.6	4.4	5.4	4.4	5.2	6.4	6.2	6.0	5.9
Europe and the United Kingdom	32.4	28.5	33.0	32.6	27.7	20.9	18.4	20.3	21.8	21.3
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Saskatchewan	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	11.7	14.6	15.6	14.8	15.0	17.4	18.6	17.3	16.0	15.6
Asia and Pacific	57.5	54.6	48.8	50.7	52.0	52.6	52.7	55.5	52.6	56.8
South and Central America	4.8	4.8	5.6	5.0	5.4	6.1	6.3	7.3	7.1	7.0
United States	4.2	3.7	4.5	4.5	3.8	3.5	3.2	3.5	4.6	3.9
Europe and the United Kingdom	21.8	22.4	25.6	25.0	23.8	20.3	19.2	16.4	17.8	16.7
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Alberta	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	7.3	9.5	10.6	9.6	9.5	9.4	10.1	9.4	9.9	7.8
Asia and Pacific	77.0	74.6	70.2	71.6	71.9	72.4	72.3	72.9	69.8	74.1
South and Central America	2.2	2.6	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.9	3.4
United States	2.5	2.3	2.8	3.1	2.9	2.8	3.0	3.3	4.0	4.4
Europe and the United Kingdom	11.0	10.9	13.0	12.5	12.1	11.8	11.1	10.9	12.4	10.4
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
British Columbia	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	11.3	7.4	12.0	–	5.8	–	17.2	11.1	10.7	13.8
Asia and Pacific	52.3	46.0	32.8	46.3	48.4	55.5	40.2	51.2	47.8	46.3
South and Central America	2.6	4.2	5.6	–	6.5	–	5.7	5.6	8.8	8.1
United States	6.2	5.3	6.4	7.4	16.1	14.5	10.7	9.3	7.6	6.3
Europe and the United Kingdom	27.7	37.0	43.2	41.6	23.2	22.0	26.2	22.8	25.2	25.6
Territories**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Africa and the Middle East	16.1	17.5	18.7	17.7	18.0	19.3	20.2	19.7	21.0	18.8
Asia and Pacific	55.2	54.2	48.4	50.9	53.1	53.0	52.0	51.4	46.6	52.6
South and Central America	8.4	8.1	8.1	8.0	7.5	8.1	8.5	9.2	9.4	9.4
United States	2.6	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.7	3.2	3.5
Europe and the United Kingdom	17.7	17.9	22.1	20.5	18.9	17.3	17.0	17.0	17.8	15.6
Source area not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Province or territory not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick

** Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut

Source: CIC, *Facts and Figures* (2005: 45) (http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2005.pdf, accessed date 13/03/07).

APPENDIX 14: LABOUR FORCE ACTIVITIES[1] OF IMMIGRANTS WITH SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 2001

Selected Characteristics of Immigrants	Immigrants 15 years old and over		Immigrants 25 to 44 years old	
	Participation rate[2]	Employment rate[3]	Participation rate[2]	Employment rate[3]
	%			
Both sexes	**70.0**	**44.1**	**77.6**	**49.8**
Men	82.5	54.0	90.8	60.8
Women	57.6	34.4	63.9	38.4
Admission class				
Family class	59.3	39.4	75.1	51.4
Economic principal applicant	89.6	58.7	90.9	60.3
Economic spouse and dependent	59.7	34.0	62.1	36.1
Refugee	43.7	21.3	48.7	24.9
Official language skills				
Knowledge of at least one language	75.4	47.7	80.9	52.1
Knowledge of neither English nor French	45.3	28.1	53.2	33.3
Highest level of education				
No formal education or less than high school	43.4	23.8	56.7	36.5
High school graduation	59.4	39.5	62.3	43.5
Some post-secondary, Trade or College	67.7	45.6	71.8	48.1
University degree	80.0	50.0	82.1	51.8
Region of birth				
United States	72.8	62.8	83.4	75.4
Europe	71.8	49.5	79.7	56.4
Central and South America/Caribbean	71.5	46.2	77.7	51.3
Africa	73.9	34.6	80.0	37.9
Asia and Middle East	68.7	43.6	76.5	49.3
Oceania and other regions	85.8	68.1	91.4	78.4

1. The reference period for the labour force status concept in the LSIC was between the time of arrival in Canada and the time of the interview. The employed referred to immigrants who were working at a job, self employed or working for a family business (paid or unpaid) at the time of the interview.

2. Refers to the number of immigrants in the labour force (employed or unemployed) in the reference period, expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older included in the LSIC. The participation rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, *etc.*) is the labour force in that group, expressed as a percentage of the total population 15 years of age and over, in that group.

3. Refers to the number of immigrants employed in the reference period, expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older. The employment rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, *etc.*) is the number employed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over in that group.

Source: *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 29) analysis of LSIC 2001 (http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/89-611-XIE2003001.pdf, accessed date 10/08/05).

APPENDIX 15: IMMIGRANTS LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES AND SELECTED CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREAS, 2001

	Total labour force	All immigrants		Immigrants who arrived 1991-2000	
	Number	Number	%	Number	%
Canada	15,772,070	3,150,765	19.9	977,555	6.2
Provinces and Territories					
Newfoundland and Labrador	241,500	4,590	1.9	945	0.4
Prince Edward Island	73,635	2,235	3.0	350	0.5
Nova Scotia	451,375	22,010	4.9	4,770	1.1
New Brunswick	371,705	12,775	3.4	2,160	0.6
Quebec	3,742,475	393,570	10.5	124,935	3.3
Ontario	6,076,720	1,772,505	29.1	557,935	9.2
Manitoba	575,425	79,775	13.6	17,010	3.1
Saskatchewan	512,240	25,575	5.0	6,170	1.2
Alberta	1,696,760	274,675	16.2	74,715	4.4
British Columbia	2,059,945	557,415	27.1	176,360	9.0
Yukon	17,945	2,230	12.4	490	2.7
Northwest Territories	20,775	1,770	9.0	530	2.5
Nunavut	11,355	390	3.4	70	0.7
Census Metropolitan Areas					
Toronto	2,564,590	1,235,775	47.2	439,360	17.1
Montréal	1,714,170	347,205	19.2	111,975	6.2
Vancouver	1,073,010	417,505	37.9	160,050	14.9
Calgary	567,465	127,305	22.4	39,715	7.0
Ottawa-Hull	594,945	111,075	17.7	36,555	6.1

Source: *Statistics Canada* (2001a)
(http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/paid/canada.cfm#5, Accessed date 12/10/05).

APPENDIX 16: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF NEWCOMERS TO CANADA FOR MAJOR CMAs, 2001

Selected characteristics of immigrants	Canada	Toronto	Vancouver	Montreal	Calgary	Ottawa Gatineau	Other CMAs
				Number			
Total number of immigrants[1]	164,200	75,400	24,500	21,500	7,800	6,100	20,900
				%			
Men	49.7	49.7	46.5	53.3	51.2	51.9	50.3
Women	50.3	50.3	53.5	46.7	48.8	48.1	49.7
Age group							
15 to 24 years	16.3	15.4	18.8	13.7	17.1	13.7	20.8
25 to 44 years	66.3	66.6	60.6	75.9	65.4	68.8	63.3
45 to 64 years	14.4	15.0	17.5	8.5	13.7	12.5	13.6
65 years and older	3.1	3.0	3.1	2.0[E]	3.8[E]	5.0[E]	3.0[E]
Official language skills							
Knowledge of at least one official language	82.0	82.3	73.9	89.6	79.5	85.5	82.4
Knowledge of neither English nor French	18.0	17.6	26.1	10.4	20.5	14.6	17.6
Highest level of education							
No formal education or less than high school	14.4	13.7	17.5	10.2	17.1	10.3	16.9
High school graduation	11.8	11.3	12.9	9.2	12.0	10.9	15.4
Some post-secondary, trade or college education	19.1	15.6	18.4	23.6	21.3	18.2	22.8
University degree	54.7	59.3	51.1	56.9	49.4	60.6	44.7
Region of birth							
United States	1.0	0.5[E]	0.9[E]	0.9[E]	F	F	1.9[E]
Central and South America, Caribbean	6.1	5.6	2.4	12.3	5.1E	7.7E	6.8
Europe	15.4	13.1	8.6	19.8	16.1	16.3	20.9
Africa	9.1	3.7	3.5	30.0	8.7	11.7	13.3
Asia and Middle East	67.7	76.9	83.1	37.0	67.4	61.9	56.3
Oceania and other regions	0.6	F	F	F	1.5[E]	F	F
Admission class							
Family class immigrants	26.9	26.7	27.3	21.1	27.8	27.1	29.3
Economic class immigrants	66.7	69.9	68.0	47.4	60.7	60.9	55.4
Principal applicants in the economic class immigrants	37.5	38.9	37.5	47.4	31.1	36.1	31.4
Spouse and dependents in the economic class immigrants	29.2	31.0	33.2	25.6	29.6	24.8	24.0
Refugees	6.0	3.3	4.0	5.5	8.3	9.6	15.2

APPENDIX 16: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF NEWCOMERS TO CANADA FOR MAJOR CMAs, 2001 (Continued....)

Selected characteristics of immigrants	Canada	Toronto	Vancouver	Montréal	Calgary	Ottawa Gatineau	Other CMAs
				%			
Other education characteristics							
Newcomers with at least one foreign credential[2]	76.0	76.7	71.8	83.3	73.4	81.0	70.6
Newcomers who tried to get at least one credential checked	39.0	35.2	31.8	54.1	34.2	37.8	46.9
Plan to obtain further training	65.9	64.9	70.5	66.5	73.3	65.1	66.3
Kin and friendship networks in Canada							
Had friends and/or relatives in Canada	87.0	89.3	83.9	85.7	85.1	84.9	85.5
Relatives and/or friends living nearby	78.0	82.4	73.0	78.0	70.9	75.9	74.5
Health							
Immigrants who reported their health status as excellent or very good	78.1	78.7	70.8	80.3	77.4	77.7	80.9
Labour market characteristics							
Labour force participation rate[3]	70.0	73.5	62.7	68	76	70.7	66.9
Employment rate[4]	44.1	47.7	38.5	31.4	57.1	40.1	46.8
Immigrants who were satisfied or completely satisfied with their job	75.0	70.1	75	78.3	80.7	74.5	84.1
Immigrants looking for another job	41.5	22.3	13.5	10.9	18.9	19.5	36.1
Ease of accessing services							
Difficulties accessing education and training	39.6	40.8	45.1	39.9	44.5	48.4	26.7
Difficulties entering the labour market	69.9	74.1	72.9	75.8	58.1	75.4	58.4
Difficulties accessing health services	23.4	19.3	23.8	37.1	26.2	42.1	20.4
Difficulties finding suitable housing	37.7	39.8	31.7	47.7	32.2	58.6	27

Notes:

1. All immigrants excluding the immigrant category 'Other immigrants from abroad.'
2. Includes any formal education higher than a high school diploma, such as professional or technical qualifications and any other degrees, diplomas or certificates received from outside Canada.
3. Refers to the number of immigrants in the labour force (employed or unemployed) in the reference period, expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older included in the LSIC. The participation rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, etc.) is the labour force in that group, expressed as a percentage of the total population 15 years of age and over, in that group.
4. Refers to the number of immigrants employed in the reference period, expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older. The employment rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, etc.) is the number employed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over in that group.

Source: *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 43-44) analysis of LSIC 2001[135] (http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/89-611-XIE2003001.pdf, accessed date 10/08/05).

[135] The target population for the survey included about 165,000 out of the approximately 250,000 persons admitted to Canada. It comprises immigrants who arrived in Canada between October 2000 and September 2001; were aged 15 years or older at the time of arrival; landed from abroad.

APPENDIX 17: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF NEWCOMERS TO CANADA AMONG DIFFERENT ADMISSION CLASSES, 2001

Selected characteristics of immigrants	Family class immigrants	Economic-class immigrants		Refugees
		Principal applicant	Spouse and dependants	
	Number			
Total number of immigrants[1]	44,100	61,600	47,900	9,800
	%			
Men	37.5	77.0	25.3	49.1
Women	62.5	23.0	74.7	50.9
Age group				
15 to 24 years	27.0	1.4	22.0	32.7
25 to 44 years	36.1	86.7	70.7	54.0
45 to 64 years	25.8	11.8	7.2	12.6
65 years and older	11.1	F	F	F
Official language skills				
Knowledge of at least one official language	64.7	95.8	83.4	65.4
Knowledge of neither English nor French	35.3	4.2	16.6	34.6
Highest level of education				
No formal education or less than high school	29.8	0.7[E]	12.9	37.8
High school graduation	21.1	2.8	11.6	28.3
Some postsecondary, trade or college education	21.9	12.0	24.3	22.2
University degree	27.2	84.3	51.1	11.5
Region of birth				
United States	2.0	0.8[E]	0.6[E]	F
Central and South America, Caribbean	10.6	4.4	4.2	6.8
Europe	10.7	17.5	16.7	17.2
Africa	6.2	10.2	7.5	23.6
Asia and Middle East	69.1	66.8	70.5	52.0
Oceania and other regions	1.3	0.3[E]	0.5[E]	F

APPENDIX 17: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF NEWCOMERS TO CANADA AMONG DIFFERENT ADMISSION CLASSES, 2001 (Continued.....)

Selected characteristics of immigrants	Family class immigrants	Economic-class immigrants		Refugees
		Principal applicant	Spouse and dependants	
	%			
Kin and friendship networks in Canada				
Had friends and/or relatives in Canada	96.1	86.2	81.7	75.4
Did not have relatives or friends in Canada	3.9	13.8	18.3	24.6
Immigrants who tried to:				
Find suitable housing	41.3	90.3	89.6	81.6
Access health care	77.4	71.3	75.1	80.8
Pursue further training	52.7	68.9	73.3	79.1
Find employment	61.5	88.2	62.7	47.6
Ease of accessing services				
Difficulties accessing education and training	34.9	42.3	41.4	30.5
Difficulties entering the labour market	56.6	75.5	74.7	67.5
Difficulties accessing health services	15.2	26.9	27.8	19.6
Difficulties finding suitable housing	15.2	42.0	41.8	37.9
Other selected characteristics				
Immigrants living in rental housing	55.6	78.7	80.5	91.6
Immigrants with foreign credentials[2]	52.7	97.4	77.1	39.8
Labour force participation rate[3]	59.3	89.6	59.7	43.7
Employment rate[4]	39.4	58.7	34.0	21.3

Notes:

1. All immigrants excluding the immigrant category 'Other immigrants from abroad.'
2. Includes any formal education higher than a high school diploma, such as professional or technical qualifications and any other degrees, diplomas or certificates received from outside Canada.
3. Refers to the number of immigrants in the labour force (employed or unemployed) in the reference period, expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older included in the LSIC. The participation rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, etc.) is the labour force in that group, expressed as a percentage of the total population 15 years of age and over, in that group.
4. Refers to the number of immigrants employed in the reference period, expressed as a percentage of the total immigrant population aged 15 and older. The employment rate for a particular group (age, sex, admission class, etc.) is the number employed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over in that group.

Source: *Statistics Canada* (2003b: 45-46) analysis of LSIC 2001 (http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/89-611-XIE/89-611-XIE2003001.pdf, accessed date 10/08/05).

APPENDIX 18: SCREENING QUESTIONNAIRE

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN THIS RESEARCH PLEASE COMPLETE THIS SHORT QUESTIONNAIRE AND I WILL GET IN TOUCH WITH YOU TO ARRANGE AN INTERVIEW.

1. Your Name: _____ **Surname:** _____

2. Your Title (Please tick a box): Ms. ☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Other ☐

3. Your Address: _____

_____

Postal Code: _____ **Tel:** _____

4. Your Age: _____

5. Country of Origin: _____ **Nationality:** _____

6. When did you arrive in Canada (Please give the year of arrival)**?** _____

7. Did you enter Canada under 'Independent Class' of immigration? Yes ☐ No ☐

8. What is your profession? _____

9. How many years of education have you obtained outside Canada? (Please give number of years) _____

10. What was the highest level of education you obtained outside Canada? (Please tick one only)

No degree, certificate or diploma ☐

Secondary/high school graduation certificate or equivalent ☐

Trades certificate or diploma ☐

Other non-university certificate or diploma ☐

University certificate or diploma below bachelor level ☐

Bachelor's degree (s) ☐

University certificate or diploma above bachelor level ☐

Master's degree (s) ☐

Ph.D./earned doctorate ☐

Other ☐ Please specify: _____

10 a) Have you obtained any further education in Canada? Yes ☐ No ☐

10 b) Please identify the level (s) of education obtained in Canada?

Trades certificate or diploma ☐

Other non-university certificate or diploma ☐

University certificate or diploma below bachelor level ☐

Bachelor's degree (s) ☐

University certificate or diploma above bachelor level ☐

Master's degree (s) ☐

Ph.D./earned doctorate ☐

Other ☐ Please specify: _____

11. How many years of experience did you have within your profession outside Canada? (Please give number of years) _____ Years

Countries: _____

What sector(s): _____

12. What was your last job before immigration to Canada? _____

13. How many years of experience have you had within your profession in Canada (Please give number of years) _____ Years

14. Have you had your qualifications recognised in Canada? Yes ☐ NO ☐

15. Are you currently employed (Please tick a box)? Yes ☐ NO ☐

16. What is your current employment? _____

*** Please return the completed questionnaire within a week of receipt in the self-addressed envelope provided.**

APPENDIX 19: RESEARCH POSTER

Share Your Experience

Did you immigrate between 1970 and 2001?

Did you enter Canada under the 'Independent Class/Skilled Worker'?

Are you an immigrant with professional qualification as a:

Engineer
Doctor/physician
University Lecturer
Computer Programmer / IT
Elementary / Kindergarten Teacher

Would you like to share your experiences with entering your respective profession in Canada?

You are invited to take part in a research study conducted by:

Ms. Mojgan Rahbari
Doctorate Researcher
University of Bristol, England

Please contact me via
E-mail: mojgan.rahbari@bris.ac.uk
Alternatively, by phone, Tel:
Sept. 20th, 2003. Interviews are expected to be for the duration of an hour.
NO REMURATION IS PROVIDED FOR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX 20: INFORMED CONSENT

UNIVERSITY of BRISTOL

School for **Policy Studies**

Ms. Mojgan Rahbari, B.A., MSc.
Doctoral Researcher
University of Bristol
School for Policy Studies
8 Priory Rd, Bristol
England BS8 1TZ

Tel: +44 (117) 954 - 6625 (England)
Tel: (519) 661- 3606 (Canada)
Fax: +44 (117) 954 – 675 (England)
E-mail: Mojgan.Rahbari@Bristol.ac.uk

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the research project exploring **"Labour Participation of Immigrants with Professional Qualifications in Canada"**, conducted by Ms. Mojgan Rahbari, Doctorate Researcher from University of Bristol, England.

The purpose of this study is to find out about the integration experiences of immigrants with professional qualifications in London, Ontario. Within the interview, we will discuss your experience with immigration and integration.

I would like to emphasise that:

- Your participation is entirely voluntary
- You are free to refuse to answer any questions
- You are free to withdraw from the study or to leave at any time, without giving reasons or explanations for doing so.

The participants will not receive any direct benefit from participating in this study; however, the participation will contribute to our understanding of the processes of immigration and integration in Canada.

Excerpts from the interview may be used in the final research report and subsequent publication in academic and professional journals. In view of this, whenever required, the identifying labels (*i.e.* demographic information and name of places) will be removed. Furthermore, any changes to these conditions will only be made with the approval of the participants.

By signing this form you will agree that you have read and understood this information, are aware of what is expected of you within the research process, and give consent to take part in the study.

If you have any further questions, please ask them when you are contacted or prior to the interview.

Thank you

Sincerely
Ms. Mojgan Rahbari

_____ _____

Date Signature

APPENDIX 21: OUTLINE OF INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDE

Introduction to the topic area:

As you know from the information you received about this study, we are meeting to discuss the immigration and integration experience of immigrants with professional qualifications in Canada. I wish to discuss your views about your experience.

The findings from this study will be used to help advance our knowledge of immigration and integration in Canada and will contribute towards understanding how immigrants may be supported through these processes.

Introduction

Introduce self and explain research topic area
Reassure participant about confidentiality
Introduce tape recorder
Set ground roles

Personal details: age, gender, country of origin, and marital status/domestic circumstances
Educational/professional background and training
Length of residency: in Canada and in London, Ontario
Work history

Immigration and adaptation Experience

- Reason for migration
- Immigration expectations/ hopes/ dreams
- Immigration alternatives
- Experience of immigration
- Integration experience: (*i.e.* Socio-cultural- culture/ family, economic-financial/employment, health- psychological/emotional/physical)
- Post migration gains and losses experienced
- Opportunity costs/benefits perceived or obtained through immigration
- Options available now

Verification of Professional Credentials and Experience

- What have you done to get your professional qualifications and experience recognised
- Experiences encountered in conveying former credentials and experience

Employment History

- Employment pattern, nature, and duration of jobs held in Canada
- Unemployment periods/patterns: when? and why?

Resources Accessible

- Awareness of available resources to assist immigrants with integration issues
- Did you use: Social Assistance/Social Benefits or Unemployment Insurance as income
- Who were the main providers?

Further Details of Participants' Experience

- The participants' sentiments: emotional reactions, and or opinion on the subjects discussed
- Participants' current emotional state (*i.e.* anger, fear, anxiety and so forth)

Health Issues

The impact participants' integration experience in Canada has had on them, their partner, and their family

Consequences of Integration Barriers

- Consequences of barriers they perceive they have experienced in relation to integration
- The role immigrants could play in Canada
- Views on recent amendments to Immigration Policy through Bill C-11 (2001) with its new selection system focusing on 'transferable skills' rather than the previous 'point system' (since 1976)
- What is the impact of the new policy on professional immigrants?
- Are the amendments to the policy a positive way of modernising immigration selection system?

Concluding Remarks

- Is there anything else to add?
- Summery of the main points discussed

APPENDIX 22: OUTLINE OF INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDE FOR SERVICE PROVIDERS

INTRODUCTION:

As you know from the information you received about this research study, we are meeting to discuss your professional experience in providing services to immigrants with professional qualifications. I wish to discuss your views both about your experience with your clientele, and the level of support you provide to assist the professional immigrants with integration and employment issues.

I anticipate that the findings from this study would provide a comprehensive overview of immigration and integration issues FTP migrants encounter in London, Ont. As a result, I hope to draw attention to the ways in which need to be supported thus assist in proposing further service needs.

- Reassure participant about confidentiality
- Introduce tape recorder

1. What is your role within the organisation?

2. What type of services do you provide?

3. What are your clienteles' profiles? (Statistics and documents if available)

4. Do you think that the immigrants entering Canada actually match the Canadian demographic and labour needs as the Canadian government declares through its immigration policy?

5. From experience in providing service to FTP migrants, what are their integration needs?

6. From experience, what are the factors affecting FTP migrants' entry into their profession, and consequently the Canadian labour market?

7. How are the services provided within your organisation assisting your clienteles?

8. How can the existing services be improved?

9. What is needed to improve your services so you could meet the demands addressed by FTP migrants?

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

Summery of main points discussed.

APPENDIX 23: EMAILED QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITY of BRISTOL

School for **Policy Studies**

Dear Participant

Thank you for the interest you have expressed in this research. Prior to answering the questionnaire provided would you please ensure that you have taken the time, to review the research information enclosed which will give details of the nature of the study. This research focuses on immigration and integration experiences of immigrants with professional qualifications in Canada.

This questionnaire is provided as an attachment in a Word document format. You may copy the questionnaire; fill in the answers (please note that the space provided is meant to serve only as a guideline, please feel free to expand accordingly), resave and sent back as an attachment via e-mail. However, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed by this method therefore, if you wish to you can also get in touch via e-mail and inform me about your intention to post the questionnaire. I will provide you with a self-addressed envelope upon request.

My mailing address is:

Ms. Mojgan Rahbari
University of Bristol
School for Policy Studies
8 Priory Rd. Bristol,
England BS8 1TZ

I greatly appreciate if you would send back the questionnaire within the next **three weeks.** I thank you for your involvement in this research.

Regards

Ms. Mojgan Rahbari

QUESTIONNAIRE

SERVICE PROFILE:

1. What is your role within the organisation?

2. What type(s) of services does the organisation provide?

3. Are there different categories of membership in the organisation? Please state how many people belong to each category. **[Do you have statistical breakdown of various categories of members]**

4. Do you collect information about your members' national or ethnic origin?

   Yes ☐ No ☐ **[If yes would you please give the statistical breakdown for the last five years?]**

5. In the last year, how many foreign-trained professionals have applied for recertification?

6. Last year how many foreign-trained professionals were successful in gaining certification for practice in Canada?

7. What are the organisation's foreign-trained clientele profiles? **(Please include statistics and documents if they are available)**

8. Is the organisation taking any specific measures to assist foreign-trained professionals to gain access to their profession?

9. In your professional opinion and experience in assessing and certifying foreign-trained professionals, what are their foremost shortcomings?

10. How comparable are the foreign-trained professionals' qualifications with the Canadian standards?

11. In your professional opinion what are the foreign-trained professionals' weaknesses in terms of their qualification and work experience in comparison to the Canadian standards?

12. From experience what are the factors affecting the foreign-trained professionals' entry into their profession, consequently the Canadian labour market?

13. Has a greater reliance on educational credentials in hiring within the profession created more opportunities for members of minority groups? If not so, why not?

14. How can the regulated body assist in accommodating foreign-trained engineers in Ontario/Canada?

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

Please use this space to raise any other issue(s) that has not been covered by this questionnaire or make comments about the questions asked and the research.

Please return the completed questionnaire within three weeks of receipt.
Thank you for volunteering and taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

Regards

Mojgan Rahbari

APPENDIX 24: ETHNOCULTURAL AND SETTLEMENT ORGANISATIONS APPROACHED IN LONDON, ONTARIO

ETHNOCULTURAL ORGANISATIONS:

Chinese Canadian National Council (London Chapter)
1701 Trafalgar St., London, ON, N5W 1X2
Tel: 001 (519) 451-0760
Web: http://www.londonccnc.ca

It is a cultural community centre, which sponsors a variety of educational, social, and recreational activities for all ages. It provides free language instruction for newcomers with free daycare and bus tickets for students. It provides recreational classes such as: Tai Chi, painting and calligraphy, *etc*.

It provides LINC Program[136] whereby English as a Second Language (ESL) classes are offered at a beginner, intermediate and advance levels. There are summer schools available for immigrants and convention refugees.

It also accommodates various activity groups such as: educational resources group, professional and business groups, seniors and youth groups who are not organized but meet occasionally.

Hindu Cultural Centre
62 Charterhouse Cr.
London, ON
Canada, N5W 5V5
Tel: 001 (519) 451-6884
Web: http://www.hcclondon.ca

HCC supports a very active roster of ceremonies, festivals, lectures, arts and cultural events and celebrations. It also gets involved in community advocacy bringing forth events that are relevant to the issues that face our community, be they health related, or other.

There are two youth groups within the HCC. The Bal Vikas Group one for the youngest members, and the HCC Youth Group. The Bal Vikas is primarily aimed at encouraging

[136] It is a government sponsored program, which in cooperation with local school boards, community colleges, immigrant and community organizations, offers English and French language training across Canada.

a sense of heritage and culture in Hindu children and the modus operandi of the group is based on narratives, religious and mythological stories, music, songs and dance. The children learn through story-telling and are encouraged to turn their knowledge into performances at select HCC functions. The HCC Youth Group is aimed at the youth who are in Secondary School Grades through to University Levels. The Youth Group gets involved in a number of HCC functions and activities and promote and work on projects and causes appropriate to their own interests. The HCC has recently embarked upon the formation of a "Youth Scholarship Award", the objective of which is to recognize and promote excellence in academic, extra curricular activities and community participation of youth graduating from high schools and is aimed at encouraging them to pursue higher education.

Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Community of London & Vicinity
133 Southdale Road West, London, Ontario, N6J 2J2
Tel: 001 (519) 438-6601 (Line 1) (519) 438-7951 (Line 2)
Web: http://www.londongreekcommunity.org

The Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Community of London and Vicinity is a non-profit organization without share capital. The Community is a registered Charity. It was first organised as a Community on January 12, 1936 and was incorporated in 1949. It operates the Holy Trinity Greek School of London and provides cultural and religious activities, accommodates Greek Orthodox Youth Association for youths 10-16 years and 16-23 years.

London Jewish Community Centre
536 Huron St
London, ON N5Y 4J5
Tel: 001 (519) 673-3310
Web: www.jewishlondon.ca

It offers social, recreational, educational, and cultural programs for all ages. It has a Friendship Club, which offers social and recreational activities for adults 55 years and over. It also has a London Holocaust Resource Centre, which offers information, library (books, videos, pictures, tapes, *etc.*) and research services.

London Muslim Mosque
151 Oxford St W
London, ON N6H 1S3
Tel: 001 (519) 439-8601
Web: www.londonmosque.com

It is a religious organization, which holds various social and educational programs. It also assists immigrants and newcomers with settlement in London. Muslim Family Support Services provides support, counselling sessions, information, and referral. The Mosque's library has an Islamic Resource Centre with books and video/audio tapes on Islam for Muslims and Non-Muslims.

SETTLEMENT AGENCIES:

London Crosscultural Learner Centre (LCCLC)

505 Dundas St E
London, ON, N6B 1W4
Tel: 001 (519) 432-1133
Web: www.lcclc.org

LCCLC provides assistance for new immigrants or refugees to settle, adapt, and integrate into London. The organisation provides a range of services including orientation, referral, interpretation, language assessment, counselling, workshops/speakers and multicultural/community development.

Translation Service: It provides official translations in over 60 languages

Job Search Workshop for Newcomers: It provides a 3-day Job Search Workshop that provides assistance in developing resumes, cover letters, references and assists in determining the next steps to secure employment in Canada.

LINC Language Assessment: Provide ESL tests at the centre as a first step towards getting a place in a language class in London. It also provides LINC Home Study.

Host Program: Coordinates a program whereby long-time Residents of Canada host newcomers for a few hours bi-weekly.

LUSO Community Services

1193 Oxford St E, Unit 2
London, ON, N5Y 3M2
Tel: 001 (519) 452-1466
Web: www.lusocentre.org

It is a multicultural community centre providing a variety of programs and services to people of all ages and of culturally diverse and ethnic backgrounds to promote inclusiveness, well-being and prosperity. With a nominal fee, it provides community services such as community computer lab, income tax clinic, and translation services.

- Employment Outreach: It supports Ontario Works recipients, particularly immigrants, refugees and foreign-trained professionals, with languages skills, translation and equivalency for foreign educational documents, career exploration and job search workshops.

- Multicultural Outreach: It provides support to elementary and secondary schools on issues of racism, anti-bullying and conflict resolution.

- Newcomer Settlement - provide support, information and orientation to newcomers and refugees who have been in Canada for 5 years or less.

- Vietnamese Outreach: It provides culturally appropriate programs with the Vietnamese Community to address violence and isolation.

- Northeast Community Development Project: Coordinates and develops services for residents of the Boullee, Huron, and Kipps Lane communities. The programs include: Baby Food and Diaper Bank, Community Clothing Cupboard, Lunch & Solutions, Skill building sessions such as Sewing classes and Knitting, Northeast Food Depot and Summer Breakfast Program.

- Children and Youth Services: i) Parents as Partners in Education - workshop to involve parents in their children's education, ii) Fast Track - after school tutoring for Grades 1-8, iii) Shared Beginnings - literacy program for children 0-6 years, iv) v) Family Math, Multicultural Summer Camp - for children 6-12 years, and vi) Northeast Area Youth Support Program - after school programs for youth 11-17 years including boys club, book club, conversation circle.

United Way of London & Middlesex
409 King St
London, ON N6B 1S5
Tel: 001 (519) 438-1721
Web: www.uwlondon.on.ca

It is a registered charity dedicated to improving the quality of life of all people in our communities and helping individuals, families, neighbourhoods and communities realize their full potential.

United Way raises and distributes funds to various community agencies through volunteer-based campaign and allocation process. It offers consultation and assistance to human care services; provides leadership in community problem solving; service development and coordination; inter-agency networking and information sharing, and research and identification of priority human care service needs in London and Middlesex.

WIL Counselling and Training
The Skill Centre
141 Dundas St, 4th floor
London, ON N6A 1G3

Tel: 001 (519) 663-0774
Web: www.wil.ca

WIL offers a broad range of employment preparation programs and services for individuals currently between jobs or those in search of a career change. Its employment preparation programs include workshops on resume development, effective job search strategies, and interview preparation. It also provides career counselling, high school equivalency (GED) preparation/assessment, career development workshops, and vocational assessments.

WIL also offers specialized employment services for immigrants, including an employment preparation program specifically designed to meet the individual needs of the newcomers. As part of this program, WIL offers additional workshops on Canadian workplace culture and employment standards. After successful completion, clients may also participate in a voluntary eight-week work placement program with local employers to gain valuable Canadian work experience. Through its Access Centre for Regulated Employment, WIL provides information and application assistance for internationally trained individuals seeking licensure or related employment in Ontario's regulated professions.

APPENDIX 25: THE SAMPLE

FTP MIGRANT INTERVIWEES

No. Categories	Type of Profession	Number
1.	Professor/ University Lecturer	13
2.	Engineer	8
3.	Research Scientist	6
4.	Teacher	6
5.	Business related fields (HR, Advertising, & Sales)	3
6.	Medical Practitioners (MD, Physician, and Dentist)	3
7.	Psychologist/Counsellor/Therapist	2
8.	Accountant	1
TOTAL:		**42**

SERVICE PROVIDER PARTICIPANTS

No.	Organisation	Interview Code
1.	WIL	I1
2.	WIL	I2
3.	Social Services (Ontario Works)	I3
4.	LUSO	I4
5.	LUSO	I5
6.	United Way	I6
7.	Pillar-Voluntary Sector Network Local Economist/ Researcher	I7

In addition, one emailed questionnaire from Licensing and Registration Officer from Professional Engineers of Ontario (PEO) [I8], which is the professional regulating body for engineers in Ontario.

APPENDIX 26: BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF FTP MIGRANT SAMPLE*

*** Glossary:**

Immigration Entry Class:		**Sample Categories:**	
i. Independent	iv. Conventional Refugee/Refugee Claimants	A Head-hunted	C Student
ii. Work Permit/ Work Visa	v. Visitor/ Family Invitation	B Not Head-hunted Immigrants	D Not Head-hunted Refugees
iii. Student	vi. Business		

No.	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	A	B	C	D	Year	Mig. Exp.[137]	Country[138]	Edu.[139]	Edu. Rec.[140]	Edu. Ca.[141]	Prof.[142]	Current Prof.[143]
1			X						X		1992	POS	Iran	MSc. (Iran)	3	Ph.D.	University instructor/ research (Iran)	University Lecturer/ Associate Researcher
2			X						X		2000	POS	Nigeria	MSc. (Nigeria)	2	MSc./ Ph.D.	University Lecturer (Nigeria & Botswana)	University Lecturer/ Associate Researcher
3				X						X	2002	NEG	Colombia	MSc. (Russia)	2	None	Mining Chief Engineer (Colombia)	Unemployed

[137] Refers to FTPs' migration experience. If generally positive account of migration experience was given **(POS)** is used and if negative account was given **(NEG)** is used.
[138] Migrant's country of origin.
[139] Migrant's pre-migration level of education.
[140] Post-migration recognition of education 1) Secondary level, 2) Bachelor's level, 3) Same level recognition, 4) MSc. level, 5) Ph.D. level, and 6) Not applied.
[141] Post-migration education obtained in Canada.
[142] Migrant's pre-migration profession.
[143] Migrant's post-migration employment status.

No.	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	A	B	C	D	Year	Mig. Exp.	Country	Edu.	Edu. Rec.	Edu. Ca.	Prof.	Current Prof.
4		X						X			1995	POS	Russia	Ph.D. Physics (Russia)	3	None	Senior Research Scientist (Russia)	Research Scientist-Physics Residents
5				X						X	1999	NEG	Colombia	BA+ (Colombia)	2	None	Teacher (Colombia)	Driver for a charity agency
6		X						X			1998	POS	Germany	Postdoc. (Netherland)	3	Postdoc.	Research Scientist (Netherlands)	Postdoctoral Research Fellow Molecular Biology - Cancer research
7	X								X		2000	POS/NEG	Pakistan	MSc. (Australia)	3	1st year Ph.D.	Researcher/ Demographer (Australia)	Research / Teaching Assistant
8		X						X			1998	POS	Mexico	Ph.D. (USA)	3	None	None	University Lecturer/ Associate Researcher
9		X						X			1990	POS	India	Ph.D. (USA)	3	None	Advertising [Part-time] (India)	University Lecturer
10	X							X			1970	POS	USA	Ph.D. (USA)	3	None	University Lecturer (USA)	University Lecturer
11		X					X				1993	POS	Lithuania	Ph.D. (Germany)	3	Postdoc.	Researcher (Germany)	University Lecturer
12	X						X				2002	POS	Germany	Postdoc. (USA)	3	None	Assistant Lecturer (Germany)	Research Scientist
13		X						X			1997	POS	India	Ph.D. (India)	3	None	None	Research Scientist

No.	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	A	B	C	D	Year	Mig. Exp.	Country	Edu.	Edu. Rec.	Edu. Ca.	Prof.	Current Prof.
14	X							X			1987	POS	Romania	BA Compar-ative Literature (Romania)	3	MA & Ph.D.	Teacher (Romania)/ Writer (France)	University Lecturer
15		X						X			2002	POS	Taiwan	Ph.D. (USA)	3	Postdoc.	None	Postdoctoral Research Fellow
16		X						X			1996	POS	India	Ph.D. (USA)	3	None	University Lecturer (USA)	University Lecturer
17						X		X			1999	POS	New Zealand	BA+ (Teachers certificate)	6	None	School Teacher (Elementary level) Saudi Arabia)	Unemployed
18	X							X			1969	POS	India	Postdoc. (UK)	3	None	University Lecturer/ Researcher	Academic President of Research Network (Engineering)
19				X						X	1986	NEG	Honduras	BA Social Sciences (Honduras)	1	Trades Cert. or diploma-Nursing & DSW-Dev. Social Worker	High School Teacher (Honduras)	Manual Work
20	X							X			1975	POS/NEG	India	Ph.D.	3	Postdoc.	University Lecturer (India)	Research Scientist

No.	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	A	B	C	D	Year	Mig. Exp.	Country	Edu.	Edu. Rec.	Edu. Ca.	Prof.	Current Prof.
21	X							X			1971	POS/NEG	Philippines	BA Economics & Pol. Sci. (Philippines)	1	MSc. (Did not complete)	Insurance Sale (Philippines)	Self-employed Freelance Business consultant
22			X						X		1978	POS	Greece	BA Dentistry (Greece)	3	Ph.D. dental Surgery	Dentistry (Greece)	Lecturer Dentistry and Orthodontics Practice
23	X							X			1998	POS/NEG	India	Ph.D. (India)	6	None	University Lecturer Engineering (Trinidad)	Retired
24	X							X			1971	POS	Philippines	BA Mechanical Engineering	1	None	Mechanical Engineer (Philippines)	Draftsperson
25			X						X		1984	POS	India	MD (UK)	3	MSc., Ph.D.	MD/Ophthalmology (India)	Pathologist/University Lecturer
26		X					X				1990	POS	India	Ph.D. (India)	3	Postdoc.	Researcher (Japan)	Assistant Lecturer Research Scientist-Clinical Researcher Pathology
27				X						X	2002	NEG	Colombia	MD (Colombia)	2	None	Physician Intensive Care Unit (Colombia)	Unemployed
28				X						X	2001	NEG	Colombia	BA Psychology (Colombia)	2	Case Manag ement,	Aviation Psychologist-Army Air Force (Colombia)	Case Associate- Local Community Services

No.	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	A	B	C	D	Year	Mig. Exp.	Country	Edu.	Edu. Rec.	Edu. Ca.	Prof.	Current Prof.
29				X						X	2001	NEG	Colombia	BSc. Engineering (Colombia)	1	None	Civil Engineer (Colombia)	Free lance part-time Journalist- Spanish Paper
30				X						X	2001	NEG	Colombia	MD (Colombia)	2	None	Physician (Hospital) (Colombia)	Volunteer
31				X						X	2001	POS	Colombia	MSc. Edu. (Colombia)	2	Highsch-ool level computer course	Teacher (Colombia)	Language School (Teach Spanish, Part-time)
32	X							X			2001	NEG	Egypt	MSc. Mechanical Engineering (Egypt)	2	None	Project Engineer- Oil company (Saudi Arabia)	Unemployed
33	X							X			2000	NEG	Jamaica	BA Education (Jamaica)	3	MSc. Education	Secondary School Teacher- School Principle (Jamaica)	English as a Second Language Instructor
34	X							X			2000	NEG	Jamaica	BA Accountancy (Jamaica)	2	Licence	Accountant	Auditor
35				X						X	2000	POS	Colombia	MSc. Industrial Admin. Engineering	3	None	Petrol Engineer- Corporate Planning Director (Colombia)	Teaching Spanish as a tutor
36	X							X			1986	POS	Mexico	BA Psychology (Mexico)	2	MSc. Couns-elling	None	Counsellor/ Psychotherapist

No.	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	A	B	C	D	Year	Mig. Exp.	Country	Edu.	Edu. Rec.	Edu. Ca.	Prof.	Current Prof.
37	X							X			2002	NEG	Iraq	MSc. Mechanical Engineer (Iraq)	6	None	Assistant Lecture Mechanical Engineer (Iraq & Libya)	Unemployed
38				X						X	2000	NEG	Colombia	Ph.D. Arts	3	None	University Lecturer in History (Colombia)	Spanish Teacher-College Continuing Education (Part-time) & Call Centre
39	X							X			2000	NEG	Albania	BSc. Electrical Engineering	1	None	Electrical Engineer (Albania)	Electrician
40	X							X			2000	NEG	Albania	BA Math & Law	1	None	HR at a Bank (Albania)	Unemployed
41	X							X			1999	NEG	India	Bachelors of Engineering (India)	1	Currently obtaining Licence	Engineer (India & Oman)	Unemployed
42	X							X			1994	POS	China	MSc. Engineering (USA)	3	None	Research Academy Environmental Science Engineer (China)	Civil Engineer

APPENDIX 27: INTERVIEW FEEDBACK FORM

UNIVERSITY of BRISTOL

School for **Policy Studies**

Thank you for participating in this research project. I am committed to carrying out research in an ethical manner; therefore, would value your feedback on your experience of participating within this study. I would be grateful if you would complete this short questionnaire so that I may assess how well the study meets standards of ethics and sensitivity.

1. On a scale of 1 to 5, how do you rate your experience of participating within this research?

	Good				Bad
[Please circle one only]	1	2	3	4	5

2. On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate the researcher's initial selection and contact method?

	Good				Bad
[Please circle one only]	1	2	3	4	5

3. On a scale of 1 to 5, how comfortable did you felt about the interview?

	Good				Bad
[Please circle one only]	1	2	3	4	5

4. On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you rate the competence of the researcher?

	Good				Bad
[Please circle one only]	1	2	3	4	5

5. Is there anything the researcher could improve regarding the interview process?
[Please specify]

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Have you benefited from this research? Yes ☐ NO ☐

[Please specify how?]

7. (a) Do you feel you have been effected negatively (*i.e.* emotionally, psychologically/mentally, and physically) in any way because of this research?

Yes ☐ No ☐ **[Please be specific about how you have been affected?]**

7. (b) How could this have been avoided?

8. Is there anything more you would like to add concerning your experience, your views on the topic of research or anything else of concern to you in relation to this research?

Thank you.

Sincerely

Ms. Mojgan Rahbari

APPENDIX 28: CODING STAGE (1a)- FREE CODES ASSIGNED TO FTP INTERVIEWS

PREMIGRATION VIEWS	
0.1	Reason for migration
0.2	Pre migration views of Canada
0.3	Pre migration views of London (Ont.)
0.4	Immigration expectation
0.5	Pre migration employment
0.6	Pre migration yrs of work experience
0.7	Pre migration education
0.8	Pre migration information on employment in Canada
POSTMIGRATION VIEWS	
1.0	Immigration experience
1.1	Immigration alternatives
1.2	Residency- Immigration Application processing
1.3	Adaptation/integration experience post migration
1.4	Use of settlement resources
1.5	Use of Social Assistance/Social Benefits; Unemployment Insurance as income
1.6	Spouse happy with the move
1.7	Post migration views of Canada
1.8	Post migration views of opportunity costs
1.9	Post migration views of benefits gained
2.0	Post migration options available
2.1	Verification of certification/work experience
2.2	Further education Canada
2.3	Current employment
2.4	Post migration yrs of work experience
2.5	Post migration employment experience
2.6	Equal opportunity in employment issues
2.7	Work permit
2.8	Opinion on point system
2.9	Amendments to immigration selection policy
3.0	Changes to Quality of life
3.1	Consequences of barriers experienced
3.2	Role immigrants could play
3.3	Post migration economic change
3.4	Post migration change in employment
3.5	Family's experience with health/well-being
3.6	Employment options
3.7	Relocation options
3.8	Why Canada
3.9	Why Town/City
4.0	Employment Strategies Adopted
4.1	Periods of Unemployment
4.2	Comparability of foreign education

APPENDIX 29: CODING STAGE (1b)- FREE CODES ASSIGNED TO SERVICE PROVIDER'S INTERVIEWS

STRUCTURAL ISSUES	
I 0.1	Funding the organisation
I 0.2	Government's funding criteria
I 0.3	Services provided
I 0.4	Counselling services available
I 0.5	Referral to the organisation
I 0.6	Referral time to agency
I 0.7	Job placement process
I 0.8	Duration of job placement
I 0.9	Work experience placements
I 1.0	No obligation to hire
I 1.1	Job placement contacts
I 1.2	Contacts outside city of London (Ont.)
I 1.3	Settlement location
I 1.4	Engineer placements
I 1.5	Systemic surveillance of clients
I 1.6	Follow-up of clientele
I 1.7	Short root to employment pressure
I 1.8	Welfare recipient stigma
I 1.9	Incentives to hire for employer
I 2.0	No incentives to hire for employer
I 2.1	Name discrimination
I 2.2	'Canadians First' dilemma
I 2.3	Qualification assessment process
I 2.4	Gap within resources
I 2.5	Improvement of services required
I 2.6	Seduction and abandonment
I 2.7	Information dissemination from agencies
I 2.8	Different funders/different mandate- effect interagency communication
I 2.9	Canada needs professionals phenomenon
I 3.0	Transferable skills- immigration policy
I 3.1	Government's immigration accountability
I 3.2	Canadian labour force
I 3.3	Doctors needed
I 3.4	Lack of affiliation with professional organisation
I 3.5	Overqualified phenomenon
I 3.6	Language specific training
I 3.7	Reality- Unskilled needed
I 3.8	Canada's economy
I 3.9	Characteristics of London, Ontario
I 4.0	Systemic Information Gap

FOREGN TRAINED IMMIGRANT'S NEEDS	
I 4.1	Immigrant clientele's profiles
I 4.2	Client's needs
I 4.3	Information needed by migrants
I 4.4	Independent class issues
I 4.5	Weakness of immigrants with professional qualification
I 4.6	Professional comparability to mainstream Canadians
I 4.7	Transferability of skills as barrier
I 4.8	Licensing exams as barrier
I 4.9	Language as barrier
I 5.0	Canadian work experience as barrier
I 5.1	Lack of network as barrier
I 5.2	Lack of job search skills
I 5.3	Transportation as barrier
I 5.4	Immigrants not meeting provincial labour demands
I 5.5	Professionals underemployed
I 5.6	Onus on foreign trained immigrants
I 5.7	ESL Teaching
GAINS THROUGH INVOLVEMENT WITH ORGANISATION	
I 6.0	Canadian work experience
I 6.1	Self-confidence gained through placement
I 6.2	Learned about culture in the workplace
I 6.3	Applied professional skills
I 6.4	Percentage found employment
I 6.5	Related occupational jobs
I.6.6	Support and motivation

APPENDIX 30: CODING STAGE (2a)- GUIDELINE FOR FTP INTERVIEWS

SAMPLE CATEGORIES

A Independent Class
B Work permit/ Work Visa
C Student
D Conventional Refugee/ Refugee Claimants

IMMIGRATION ENTRY CLASS

i) Head-hunted
ii) Not Head-hunted Immigrants
iii) Student
iv) Not Head-hunted Refugees

POS - In General Positive Account of Migration Experience
NEG - In General Negative Account of Migration Experience

PREMIGRATION VIEWS

Reason for Migration

0.1 - Reasons for migration
3.8 - Why Canada?
3.9 - Why London (Ont.)?

Pre Migration Views of Canada

0.2 - Pre migration views of Canada
0.3 - Pre migration views of London (Ont.)

Immigration Expectation

0.4 - In terms of employment
0.5 - In terms of general life style

Pre migration Employment Status

0.6 - Pre migration employment
0.7 - Pre migration yrs of work experience
0.8 - Pre migration education
0.9 - Pre migration information on employment in Canada

POSTMIGRATION VIEWS

Immigration Experience

1.0 - Immigration experience
1.1 - Immigration alternatives
1.2 - Residency- Immigration Application processing
1.8 - Post migration views of opportunity costs
1.9 - Post migration views of benefits gained
3.0 - Changes to Quality of life

Post Migration Views of Canada

1.7 - Post migration views of Canada

Post Migration Adaptation/Integration Experience

1.3 - Adaptation/Integration Experience
1.6 - Spouse views on the move
3.5 - Family's experience with health/well-being
3.3 - Post migration economic change
3.4 - Post migration change in employment
4.1 - Periods of Unemployment
3.1 - Consequences of barriers experienced

Post Migration Employment Experience

2.1 - Verification of certification/work experience
2.3 - Current employment
2.5 - Post migration employment experience
2.6 - Equal opportunity in employment issues
2.7 - Work permit
4.2 - Comparability of foreign education

Post Migration Use of Resources

1.4 - Use of settlement resources
1.5 - Use of Social Assistance/Social Benefits; Unemployment Insurance as income

Post Migration Options Available

3.6 - Employment options
3.7 - Relocation options

Strategies Adopted

4.0 - Employment Strategies Adopted
2.2 - Further education Canada

Comments on Canadian Immigration Policy

2.8 - Opinion on point system
2.9 - Amendments to immigration selection policy
3.2 - Role immigrants could play
4.3 - Recommendations to improve integration

APPENDIX 31: CODING STAGE (2b)- GUIDELINE FOR SERVICE PROVIDER'S INTERVIEWS

STRUCTURAL ISSUES
Funding Issues **I 0.1** - Funding the organisation **I 0.2** - Government's funding criteria **I 2.8** - Different funders/different mandates- effect interagency communication
Services Provided **I 0.3** - Services provided **I 0.4** - Counselling services available **I 0.5** - Referral to the organisation **I 0.7** - Job placement process **I 0.8** - Duration of job placement **I 0.9** - Work experience placements **I 1.1** - Job placement contacts **I 1.2** - Contacts outside city of London (Ont.) **I 1.5** - Systemic surveillance of clients **I 1.4** - Engineer placements
Local Factors **I 1.3** - Settlement location **I 3.9** - Characteristics of London, Ontario
Incentives to Hire for Employers **I 1.0** - No obligation to hire **I 1.9** - Incentives to hire for employer **I 2.0** - No incentives to hire for employer
Systemic Discrimination Issues **I 2.1** - Name discrimination **I 2.2** - 'Canadians First' dilemma **I 1.8** - Welfare recipient stigma

Improvement of Services Required

I 1.6 - Follow-up of clientele
I 1.7 - Short root to employment pressure
I 2.4 - Gap within resources
I 2.5 - Improvement of services required
I 2.7 - Information dissemination from agencies
I 3.4 - Lack of affiliation with professional organisation
I 3.6 - Job specific language training
I 2.3 - Qualification assessment process

Systemic Immigration/ Integration Issues

I 2.6 - Seduction and abandonment
I 2.9 - Canada needs professionals phenomenon
I 3.5 - Overqualified phenomenon
I 3.7 - Reality- Unskilled needed
I 4.0 - Systemic Information Gap

Government and Immigration Policy

I 3.0 - Transferable skills- immigration policy
I 3.1 - Government's immigration accountability

Perspectives on Canada's Economy

I 3.2 - Canadian labour force
I 3.3 - Doctors needed
I 3.8 - Canada's economy

FOREGN TRAINED IMMIGRANT'S NEEDS

Clientele's Profiles

I 4.1 - Immigrant clientele's profiles

Client's Needs

I 4.2 - Client's needs
I 4.3 - Information needed by migrants

Foreign-trained Professional

I 4.4 - Independent class issues
I 4.5 - Weakness of immigrants with professional qualification
I 4.6 - Professional comparability to mainstream Canadians
I 5.5 - Professionals underemployed

Barriers to Employment

I 4.7 - Transferability of skills as barrier
I 4.8 - Licensing exams as barrier
I 4.9 - Language as barrier
I 5.0 - Canadian work experience as barrier
I 5.1 - Lack of network as barrier
I 5.3 - Transportation as barrier
I 5.2 - Lack of job search skills
I 5.4 - Immigrants not meeting provincial labour demands
I 5.6 - Onus on foreign trained immigrants
I 5.7 - ESL Teaching

GAINS THROUGH INVOLVEMENT WITH ORGANISATION

I 6.0 - Canadian work experience
I 6.1 - Self-confidence gained through placement
I 6.2 - Learned about culture in the workplace
I 6.3 - Applied professional skills
I 6.4 - Percentage found employment
I 6.5 - Related occupational jobs
I.6.6 - Support and motivation